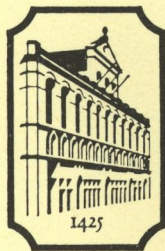


# HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Vol. XXXIII-1984



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## HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

### Journal of Neo-Latin Studies

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Editions and Studies.	
M.C. DAVIES, <i>The Senator and the Schoolmaster: Friends of Leonardo Bruni Aretino in a New Letter</i> . . . . .	1
K.A. NEUHAUSEN und E. TRAPP, <i>Sprachliche und sachliche Bemerkungen zu einer neuen Ausgabe des Cyriacus von Ancona, (II)</i> . . . . .	22
D. RIEHL LEADER, <i>John Argentein and Learning in Medieval Cambridge</i> . . . . .	71
Anna MODIGLIANI, <i>Un nuovo manoscritto di Pietro Carmeliano. Le «Epistolae» dello Pseudo-Falaride nella Trinity College Library in Dublino</i> . . . . .	86
<i>Poetica Erasmiana</i>	
1. H. VREDEVELD, <i>Simeae Capellae. A Note on the Text of Erasmus carm. 1,4</i> . . . . .	103
2. G. TOURNOY, <i>The "Lost" Third Epitaph for Henry of Bergen, Written by Erasmus</i> . . . . .	106
Brenda HOSINGTON, <i>Early French Translations of Thomas More's Utopia: 1550-1730</i> . . . . .	116
H.F. FULLENWIDER, <i>Das Mellificium: die 'Honigmanufaktur' als Anthologie-Gattung der Neulateinischen Literatur</i> . . . .	135
Chr. L. HEESAKKERS, <i>Tragoedia Dido P. Cunaei (Leiden University Library, MS. Cun. 7)</i> . . . . .	145
L. VISCIDO, <i>Un poeta latino contemporaneo: Joseph Tusiani (With an Appendicula: Iosephi Tusiani Carmina by D. Sacré)</i>	198
H. VAN DE VENNE, <i>Cornelius Schonaeus 1541-1611. A Bibliography of His Printed Works. Part II</i> . . . . .	206
2. Instrumentum Criticum	
J. IJSEWIJN, <i>Castigationes Erasmianae VI</i> . . . . .	315
R. KEEN, <i>Notae Melanchthonianae</i> . . . . .	316
3. Instrumentum Bibliographicum Neo-Latinum, app. J. IJSEWIJN, M. DE SCHEPPER, G. TOURNOY, D. SACRÉ . . . . .	317
4. Instrumentum lexicographicum . . . . .	358
5. Indices	
— Index codicum manu scriptorum . . . . .	360
— Index nominum . . . . .	361



THE SENATOR AND THE SCHOOLMASTER :  
FRIENDS OF LEONARDO BRUNI ARETINO  
IN A NEW LETTER\*

A hitherto unpublished letter of Leonardo Bruni Aretino, short in length but of considerable interest, is found in San Gimignano, Biblioteca Comunale MS 27 f.120<sup>v</sup> (fig. 1)<sup>1</sup>:

Leonardus Aretinus sal. d. Johanni Nicole suo.

Quam voluissem, mi suavissime Johannes Nicola, nuper cum Florentiam<sup>2</sup> iter faciebas non latuisse me presentiam tuam. Preter enim officium quod prestare tibi iure amicitie obnoxius debui, quedam accedebant cause ob quas te convenire et alloqui plurimum cupiebam. Materia vero erat Guarinus noster, de quo ego quid sentiam tu dum hic eras ex multo ac frequenti sermone meo intelligere potuisti. Verum illa eadem fax levissimi hominis, que dudum in te hic presentem nullo tuo demerito exarsit, in me quoque nunc pari temeritate conversa, incendia quedam inter me et Guarinum excitare<sup>3</sup> conata est. De qua tota re cognitorem ac iudicem te habere optabam. Sed ego vel Rome, ut spero, vel Florentie te videbo et hec ipsa discutiam. Nunc autem Mathiam grammaticum familiarem meum Senis morantem tibi commendatum esse cupio, qui cum ad te venturum se diceret, ut vacuus litterarum mearum veniret non putavi committendum. Vale. Florentie IIII Kal. Jan.

A tergo. Magnanimo viro domino meo precipuo Johanninicole Salerno Equiti Veronensi, Senarum Presidi.

The addressee is Giannicola Salerno (1379-1426), who in the second half of 1418 had received from Bruni a defence 'contra detractores suos' of his recent translation of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*<sup>4</sup>. The new

\* My best thanks go to Dr Albinia de la Mare for the assistance which will be evident to readers of this article, and to Prof. Lucia Gualdo Rosa for help in procuring the rare article by Traversari and photographs.

<sup>1</sup> A full description of the MS by Gino Garosi in *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche italiane* 88 (1972), 120-38; p. 137 for this letter.

<sup>2</sup> Florentia *cod.*

<sup>3</sup> excitari *cod.*

<sup>4</sup> *Epistolarum libri VIII* rec. L. Mehus (Florence 1741), ep. X. 26. The date is that of F. P. Luiso (ep. IV. 15 in his order), *Studi su l'epistolario di Leonardo Bruni* ed. L. Gualdo Rosa (Rome, 1980), p. 91 n. 51.

letter can be precisely dated to 29 December 1420 by the address to Salerno as 'Senarum presidi' (that is, podestà of Siena), an office he held from August 1420 to June 1421<sup>5</sup>. Confirmation comes in a letter which the pedagogue Guarino sent to Salerno, his fellow Veronese and a former pupil, on 15 February 1421<sup>6</sup>. Informed, or rather misled<sup>7</sup>, by unnamed persons at Florence that Bruni had slandered him before the Florentine signoria, Guarino had replied with written criticisms of his slanderer, perhaps a letter. Accepting Salerno's view of Bruni, he now recognises that this was unjust, and resolves in future to disregard 'conficta illa maledicorum...crimina'. These fictitious charges doubtless arose from 'illa eadem fax levissimi hominis' which in Bruni's letter 'incendia quedam inter me et Guarinum excitare conata est'. Guarino's ep. 199, then, will be a response to Salerno's assurances of Bruni's innocence and goodwill, and those assurances in turn based on the contents of our letter; perhaps also, as foreseen in the letter, on a personal interview.

The identity of the malevolent rumour mongers at Florence is not far to seek. The year 1420 saw a growing rift between the former friends Leonardo Bruni and Niccolò Niccoli, the unproductive arbiter of Florentine letters<sup>8</sup>. In the summer Lorenzo Benvenuti, another alienated friend, issued an invective against Niccoli in which these words, reminiscent of Bruni's quoted above, are found: 'Eadem quoque petulantia commotus atque invidia in Leonardum Aretinum flagrasti'<sup>9</sup>. Years before, Guarino himself while teaching in Florence had felt the rough edge of Niccoli's tongue, but their relations had been ostensibly smooth since a formal reconciliation in 1417<sup>10</sup>. Attempts were then made by Niccoli and his close associate Ambrogio Traversari to lure Guarino back to teaching at the Florentine Studio, efforts which ended in failure in 1420<sup>11</sup>. The reluctance on Guarino's part was later expressly attributed

<sup>5</sup> *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese* ed. R. Sabbadini (Venice, 1915-19) III, 129 on ep. 196 v. 42. I refer henceforth to Sabbadini's commentary in vol. III as *Commento*.

<sup>6</sup> *Epistolario* I, 316 ff., ep. 199.

<sup>7</sup> 'certior, vel forte ut verius dicam, caecior factus essem', ep. 199 v. 33.

<sup>8</sup> For details of this and other quarrels of Niccoli, see M. C. Davies, "An emperor without clothes? Niccolò Niccoli under attack" in *Maistor: Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance studies for Robert Browning*, ed. A. Moffatt (Canberra, 1984), pp. 269-308.

<sup>9</sup> Giuseppe Zippel, *Storia e cultura del Rinascimento italiano*, ed. Gianni Zippel (Padua, 1979), p. 167. For the date of Benvenuti's invective see Davies *art. cit.*, pp. 276-277.

<sup>10</sup> Guarino, *Epistolario*, ep. 75; cf. his attack on Niccoli in ep. 17.

<sup>11</sup> Sabbadini, *Commento*, p. 125 on Guarino ep. 193 v. 14. Unknown to Sabbadini was the letter that Guarino wrote on the day that he declined a Florentine invitation for the academic year 1420-21, published by R. Weiss, *Italian Studies*, 2 (1939), 116.



to the continuous feuding of his Florentine acquaintances<sup>12</sup>. It is conceivably in connexion with the negotiations for securing his services at the Studio that we should take Guarino's words to Salerno: Bruni, as it had been alleged, 'multa...de me cum aliis in locis, tum ante ora dominorum Florentinorum oblocutum'<sup>13</sup>.

It is very likely, therefore, that Niccoli was the 'levissimus homo' who had laid the charges which Guarino now saw to be inventions. Another source — for Guarino speaks of more than one informant — was probably Traversari, who besides his attachment to Niccoli nourished a barely concealed (and amply returned) hostility towards Bruni<sup>14</sup>. Indeed Traversari saw his hand in, or behind, the invective of Lorenzo Benvenuti, a belief communicated by letter to Guarino<sup>15</sup>. Yet despite Salerno's intervention, and professed goodwill on both sides, active friendship between Guarino and Bruni was not immediately resumed. The next correspondence between them dates from around the turn of 1427<sup>16</sup>; Bruni apologizes for a long gap in their relations and alludes to the ancient 'controversia malivolorum' which drove a wedge between them. At that stage, after the resolution of his own quarrel with Niccoli, he preferred to let the matter rest in silence.

These, briefly, seem to be the circumstances surrounding the new letter. Bruni expects a sympathetic hearing from Salerno, who had likewise suffered at the hands of Niccoli, 'nullo tuo demerito'. Nothing is known of that episode, which presumably took place during Salerno's spell as Capitano del popolo in Florence, 1418-1419<sup>17</sup>. But Salerno had eloquent friends and sufficient information survives to reconstruct his career, of which the bare bones follow.

According to the speech which Guarino delivered at his funeral in

<sup>12</sup> Ep. 245 of 1423.

<sup>13</sup> Ep. 199 v. 33f.

<sup>14</sup> cf. Davies *art. cit.*, p. 278, n. 39.

<sup>15</sup> Traversari, *Latinae epistolae*, ed. L. Mehus (Florence 1759), ep. VI. 21, on which see Zippel, *Storia e cultura*, pp. 174-5 and Davies *art. cit.*, p. 276-8. That Bruni was co-author of Benvenuti's invective was apparently accepted by Guarino on the authority of Niccoli and Traversari: Guarino ep. 245 v. 4ff., but the passage is unclear.

<sup>16</sup> Guarino ep. 469 (= Bruni ep. V. 8 Mehus). Sabbadini (following Luiso, *Studi*, p. 109, first printed in 1903) places the letter in November 1428, but it follows closely upon Bruni's election as Florentine Chancellor in December 1427.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. from that time Francesco Barbaro to Salerno: 'Eloquentissimo Leonardo Aretino et litteratissimo Nicolao, qui tui cupidissimus et appetentissimus est ... salutem facito', quoted by Sabbadini, *Commento*, p. 73.

1426, he died in his prime, aged 47; hence he was born about 1379, five years after Guarino himself<sup>18</sup>. Originally a fellow student of Guarino at Verona, he later became his pupil, creating a lifelong bond of mutual respect and admiration. He was knighted in 1404 during the brief Carraresi domination of Verona<sup>19</sup>, but took a leading part in the Veronese surrender to Venice in 1405, and held various minor posts there under the Venetian hegemony before becoming podestà of nearby Mantua in 1416<sup>20</sup>. An interval back in Verona was followed by an attempt to become podestà of Florence in 1418, with strong backing from Guarino and Francesco Barbaro<sup>21</sup>. In the event he had to content himself with the lesser post of Capitano del popolo, held for six months from 11 June 1418, in which he showed great ability<sup>22</sup>.

He then (26 July 1419) occupied the podesteria of Bologna. His administration of justice there so satisfied the Bolognese that he was confirmed in the office, most unusually, for a second semester until August 1420<sup>23</sup>. At that point he became podestà of Siena for the year in which our letter falls<sup>24</sup> and crowned this series of successful foreign magistracies by his nomination as Senator of Rome, for six months from 14 September 1421<sup>25</sup>. Bruni in the letter expects to see him 'vel Rome, ut

<sup>18</sup> J. B. Mittarelli, *Bibliotheca codd. mss. monasterii S. Michaelis Venetiarum* (Venice, 1719), pp. 481-88, at 486; extracts from the speech in Sabbadini *Commento*, p. 202.

<sup>19</sup> G. Biadego, 'Due sonnetti di Gian Nicola Salerno' in his *Da libri e manoscritti* (Verona, 1883), pp. 23-30, at 24.

<sup>20</sup> Biadego in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, 10 (1905), 411 ff., Guarino ep. 50 with *Commento*, p. 48 f.

<sup>21</sup> Guarino's recommendations are epp. 90-94, the last two to Niccoli. Barbaro's letter to Palla Strozzi in *Francisci Barbari epistolae*, ed. Querini (Brescia, 1743), p. 22 f. The next three letters of Barbaro are addressed to Salerno himself. Claudio Griggio has lately published another letter supporting the candidature which Barbaro sent to Cosimo de' Medici: "Il codice berlinese lat. fol. 667. Nuove lettere di Francesco Barbaro", *Miscellanea di studi in onore di Vittore Branca*, III. 1 (Florence 1983), pp. 164-165.

<sup>22</sup> Sabbadini, *Commento*, p. 72, Luiso, Studi, p. 92, n. 52. His captaincy is praised in Guarino epp. 110, 116, 118, 119, 121.

<sup>23</sup> Guarino epp. 159, 168 and *Commento*, p. 119.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. n. 5 above.

<sup>25</sup> Appointed by Martin V on 13 July 1421. He had originally been nominated on 5 Dec. 1419 for 1420, but that fell through: A. Salimei, *Senatori e statuti di Roma nel medioevo I* (Rome, 1935), p. 165, p. 168. Salimei's dates, from the Vatican Registers, differ from those given by Biadego (as n. 19), p. 24, much of whose sketch of Salerno is lifted verbatim from the first substantial account, C. de' Rosmini, *Vita e disciplina di Guarino Veronese III* (Brescia, 1806), pp. 45-55. Dr John Law kindly brings to my attention a bull of Martin V (4 March 1422) granting an indulgence for those helping in the reconstruction of Sant'Anastasia in Verona, which was obtained through Salerno's good offices: C. Cipolla in *L'Arte*, 17 (1914), 181.

spero, vel Florentie', and that suggests that the senatorial appointment was already settled at the end of 1420 and also that Bruni at that time intended to follow in Martin V's curia when it should eventually leave Florence<sup>26</sup>. From 1422, it seems, Salerno lived in Verona<sup>27</sup>. At the time of his death in 1426 he was among those charged with the prosecution of the war that Venice was waging against Milan<sup>28</sup>.

Like that other able administrator Francesco Barbaro, Salerno found time amid these public concerns to cultivate mind and spirit. According to Guarino he was on intimate terms with two saints, as they later became, Lorenzo Giustiniani and Bernardino of Siena<sup>28a</sup>. He produced respectable verse in Latin and Italian, and the elegant, empty speeches of his magistracies were much copied<sup>29</sup>. Bruni thought him a fit recipient for his disquisition on the translation of τὸ ἀγαθόν (ep. X.26, mentioned above), and he was keen to see the newly discovered rhetorical works of Cicero in 1422<sup>30</sup>. Besides Bruni, Barbaro and Guarino, he numbered several lesser humanists among his correspondents, including Ognibene Scola (who married his cousin), Gasparino Barzizza and the Greek physician Thomas Franc<sup>31</sup>. A group of six letters that Guarino addressed to him was copied into a Vatican manuscript, probably by Salerno himself<sup>32</sup>. Three of these Guarino letters are also present in the San Gimignano manuscript, as well as others sent to Salerno by other

<sup>26</sup> There is some evidence that Bruni resumed curial duties in 1419-20: cf. H. Baron in *Past and Present* 36 (1967), 31 n. 23.

<sup>27</sup> Sabbadini, "Codice con lettere e discorsi di Giannicola Salerno", *Archivio Veneto*, 32 (1886), 256. As one of the representatives of Verona in 1423 he delivered congratulations to the new Doge of Venice (Biadego, *Da libri*, p. 26).

<sup>28</sup> Sabbadini, *Commento*, p. 202, from Guarino's funeral speech.

<sup>28a</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> The poems are published by Biadego, *Da libri* and Sabbadini, "Versi latini di Giannicola Salerno", *Giornale storico d. letterat. italiana*, 58 (1911), 358-366. Annarosa Cavedon has now published some more of his Petrarchan sonnets in "Un umanista-rimatore del sec. XV: Gian Nicola Salerno", *Miscellanea Branca* (as n. 21) III. 1, pp. 205-219. Manuscripts of his speeches are listed by Sabbadini, *Commento*, p. 49 (to which can be added Vat. Chigi J VII 266, Munich clm 504, British Lib. Arundel 70, Melk Stiftsbibl. 780).

<sup>30</sup> Guarino ep. 214. Cf. Sabbadini, *Storia e critica di testi latini*, ed. 2 (Padua 1971), p. 101.

<sup>31</sup> For Scola, see G. Cogo in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, 8 (1894), 138-40; a letter of Barzizza follows the new letter of Bruni on f. 121 (if 'Ioanni Salernitano' is really Salerno: not registered in D. Mazzuconi's index of Barzizza's letters, *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, 20 (1977) 203-39). An expurgated letter of Franc (1421) printed by Sabbadini 'Versi ...' (as n. 29), pp. 364-65; on him see the bibliography in *Duke Humfrey and English humanism*, Bodleian Library exhibition catalogue (Oxford, 1970), p. 13, no. 24.

<sup>32</sup> Vat. lat. 2946, cf. Sabbadini, *Commento*, p. viii.

persons<sup>33</sup>. We might on this account alone suspect some connexion between our manuscript and the podestà of Siena; but firmer evidence is to hand.

MS 27 is a paper miscellany, in several hands, of grammatical texts and humanist letters and speeches, chiefly the form letters of Barzizza<sup>34</sup>. I have seen only reproductions of f.120<sup>v</sup>, with Bruni's letter, and of a few other pages, kindly supplied by the Librarian, Dott. G. Picone. The fifteenth-century gothic cursive hand which copied our letter (though probably not the two preceding letters on the same page) was tentatively identified by Dr A. C. de la Mare as that of Mattia Lupi, a teacher of grammar known to have been at Siena in the 1420s. The identification subsequently found confirmation in the emergence of an autograph letter of Lupi, discussed below. The closing words of Bruni's letter recommend the bearer 'Mathiam grammaticum familiarem meum Senis morantem' and it can hardly be doubted that Lupi copied out — not without mistakes — the missive he himself took to Siena, complete with the 'A tergo' address.

\*  
\* \* \*

Mattia di Nuccio Lupi of San Gimignano is not an unknown figure, hardly an 'umanista dimenticato', but he has attracted little attention since Guido Traversari devoted a long article to his life and his Latin epic on the history of his native town, the *Annales Geminianenses*<sup>35</sup>. Eighty years on, it seems worth while to offer an excursus on this man, with some fresh evidence of his relations with names eminent in the history of humanism.

A certain amount of autobiographical matter lies buried in the *Annales*, whence it was excavated by A.M. Bandini, with such further information from archives and manuscripts as had come to the great

<sup>33</sup> Ff. 119-121 have Guarino epp. 180, 184 (not found in Vat. lat. 2946), 159, 177, a letter of Bartolommeo Brenzon and that of Barzizza mentioned above.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. n. 1 above. It once belonged to the Opera of the Collegiate church in S. Gimignano, which is significant of its origin.

<sup>35</sup> "Di Mattia Lupi (1380-1468) e de' suoi 'Annales Geminianenses'", *Miscellanea storica della Valdelsa* XI. 1 (1903), 10-27, XI. 2 (1903), 108-128, XII. 2 (1904), 117-136. The first part deals with Lupi's life, the second with the *Annales*, the third prints documents and extracts: referred to here as Traversari I, II or III. As the article is not easily found outside Italy, I resume the main lines of Traversari's research, supplementing where I can.

librarian's attention<sup>36</sup>. Bandini pointed to a passage from Book III of the poem which indicates 1380 as the date of Lupi's birth — almost exactly Salerno's contemporary, then, though he long outlived him<sup>37</sup>. By 1398 Lupi was already the 'rector ecclesie de Larniano nec non capelle S. Laurentii plebatus de Peccioli in comitatu Pisarum', as he signed himself in a colophon<sup>38</sup>. Another colophon shows him 'grammaticam edocens Pistorii' on 9 June 1403<sup>39</sup>. From Pistoia he very soon moved to teach at Prato, a few miles from Florence; he was elected to receive 'a suis scholaris (*sic*) salaria debita et consueta', as attested by a Pratese document of July 1403, and in November of that year a pupil copied a Claudian in his school<sup>40</sup>. At least four times in a long and industrious life he was hired to teach grammar in San Gimignano, in each case for a period of two years<sup>41</sup>. On the second occasion in 1417, he responded to the commune's invitation with a set of hexameters rejoicing in his recall 'elementa tenellis / prima relecturus pueris'. They indicate a scholastic programme 'di una desolante monotonia', in Traversari's view<sup>42</sup>, the traditional didactic diet of rote learning and Villa Dei's *Doctrinale*. The commune of San Gimignano, however, thought highly enough of his methods to grant tax-exemptions to him (and to his natural son Lupo) as an inducement to

<sup>36</sup> *Bibliothecae Leopoldinae sive Supplementi ad Catalogum codd. Graec. Lat. Ital. Tomus III* (Florence, 1793), p. 503 ff. (henceforth *Suppl. III*). This incorporates his own earlier researches published in G. Targioni-Tozzetti, *Relazioni d'alcuni viaggi fatti in diverse parti della Toscana VIII* (Florence, 1775), p. 229 ff., and the views of G. V. Coppi, *Annali, memorie ed huomini illustri di S. Gimignano* (Florence, 1695), part 2, p. 195. The only other significant contribution is by L. Pecori, *Storia della terra di S. Gimignano* (Florence, 1853), pp. 335-36, 485-88, 618.

<sup>37</sup> Bandini, *Suppl. III*, 506 from (what is now) Bibl. Naz. Firenze II.II.12 ff. 26<sup>v</sup>-27.

<sup>38</sup> S. Gimignano MS 19, *Doctrinale* of Alexander Villa Dei, f. 84<sup>v</sup> (Garosi 110). This and the manuscript next mentioned were unknown to Traversari. Eighteen was the youngest canonical age for assuming major orders. The Larniano of which he was rector is presumably the one a few miles from S. Gimignano; Peccioli lies in the Val d'Era midway between S. Gimignano and Pisa.

<sup>39</sup> S. Gimignano MS 30, Francesco da Buti's commentary on Horace *Ars poetica*, f. 13 (Garosi 141).

<sup>40</sup> ASP, *Archivio storico del comune* 80 f. 48, quoted by G. Pampaloni in *Storia di Prato*, II (Prato 1980), p. 195, n. 1; Claudian, *De Raptu Proserpinae*, Laur. 33.8 f. 17 (Bandini, *Catalogus codd. lat. Bibl. Med. Laur.* II, 94): 'Ego Barptolomeus Iohannis scripxi hunc librum pro me quando morabar in scolis magistri Mathie de Sancto Geminiano ... electi ad legendum grammaticam Prati ...' 12 November 1403.

<sup>41</sup> In 1407, 1417, 1442 and 1454; see Traversari I, 16, 19-20 for details of these appointments.

<sup>42</sup> Traversari I, 16, who prints a portion of the verses; in full in Pecori, *Storia di S. Gimignano*, p. 618.

teach there in 1442. He died at Prato, where he seems to have spent most of his life, a short while before 24 September 1468, when arrangements were made to have him buried at the commune's expense in his native town<sup>43</sup>. From the funeral speech delivered by one 'M.B.' on this occasion we learn in what high regard Lupi's learning and eloquence were held by 'Senense collegium' and 'Pratense oppidum'<sup>44</sup>. Of his teaching at Prato we know nothing after the attested 'grammatica' of 1403. His Siennese teaching, which dates from the period of the letter here illustrated, was not universally approved, as will be seen.

Apart from this intermittently visible career as a schoolmaster in the Tuscan towns, Lupi had a steady ecclesiastical income for most of his life. We have seen him already a rector in 1398. About 1408, as it appears, he became priest of the pieve at Aiuolo, a couple of miles north-east of Prato<sup>45</sup>. Thereafter he regularly signs himself, and is referred to in official documents, as 'plebanus Areolensis' and the like. A passage in Book IX of the *Annales* shows that his long tenure of the revenues of the parish, 'quam tenui iam quinquaginta per annos/liberam', was being disputed at the end of the 1450s, and he seems to have ceded the troublesome benefice shortly afterwards<sup>46</sup>. By that time he had become a canon of the Collegiata of S. Gimignano, and at an earlier stage, in the early 1440s, he had been a vicar of the bishop of Pistoia<sup>47</sup>.

Such is the unexciting outline of Mattia Lupi's life. He is distinguished from the common run of humble schoolmasters and nameless country priests by a literary impulse which left two monuments, a poem and a library. And this impulse, I believe, sprang from admiration and imitation of humanist contemporaries at Florence. The full story of Lupi's relations with these people remains to be told, if it can be told, but an accumulation of evidence points the way.

The poem is his *Annales Geminianenses*, an epic in ten books — the last incomplete — amounting to nearly 12500 Latin hexameters, which he

<sup>43</sup> Probably in the church of S. Francesco, now destroyed: Traversari I, 26 n. 9. Cf. I, 25 n. 5 for the date of his death.

<sup>44</sup> Printed by Traversari III, 123-25, from Laur. 89 sup. 27 ff. 83-84'. Large excerpts are given by Bandini *Catalogus* III, 292-4. Traversari (I, 26 n. 8) guessed that 'M.B.' was Bartolo Mainardi; perhaps rather M(esser) B(artolommeo) Nerucci, of whom more below.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. A. Cecconi, "Toponomastica dell'antico distretto pratese", *Archivio storico pratese*, 4 (1921) 153, E. Repetti, *Dizionario geografico fisico storico della Toscana* (Florence, 1833-45), I, 59 (Ajolo), II, 578 (Iolo, the present-day name).

<sup>46</sup> Traversari I, 24-25.

<sup>47</sup> So Pecori, *Storia*, 485 without documentation.



began in 1463<sup>48</sup>. It deals with the history of San Gimignano from its mythical foundation until the 1460s; a good deal of extraneous matter is thrown in, apparently merely for bulk. The poem has found few readers, and from those few little praise: a work 'heroico carmine, valde tamen rudi et incompto' (Bandini), having 'nè orditura, nè regolarità, nè ordine' (Pecori), showing 'nessuna scintilla di poesia'; 'l'opera falli completamente' (Traversari). The interest of this wretched production for us lies in the motive that led Lupi to produce it. He asserts that he was moved to express his patriotic feeling in literary form partly by the example of Leonardo Bruni and his matchless *Historiae Florentini populi*<sup>49</sup>. Consciousness of his inadequacy to rival Bruni's history did not prevent his embarking on the long task to which death put an end in 1468, and which has proved fatal to the reputation of San Gimignano's *poeta laureatus*<sup>50</sup>. Traversari saw its closest parallels among the rhymed volgare chronicles of the age rather than in the developed humanistic poetry in praise of places and rulers of which the Quattrocento furnishes many examples<sup>51</sup>. Execution in this case fell grotesquely short of inspiration.

Wholly admirable on the other hand was Lupi's desire to benefit learning in San Gimignano by the gift of his library to the commune<sup>52</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> Lupi prepared by borrowing local chronicles from the communal archives, already in 1458 (Traversari I, 27). He tells us at the beginning of Book X that it was begun on 15 October 1463 (Traversari II, 119). It has remained unpublished (Holkham Hall 430 is an unnoticed copy, s. XVII) but copious extracts, which are all I have read, are given by Bandini *Suppl.*, III, 504-18 and Traversari III, 129-36. Part II of Traversari's article has a full treatment.

<sup>49</sup> Bandini, *Suppl.* III, 505, from the proem.

<sup>50</sup> He is shown wearing the laurel crown in a fresco of 1487 in S. Agostino, San Gimignano; cf. Traversari I, 21 n. 3 and his plate opp. p. 10. He received it before beginning the *Annales* which, incidentally, were unknown to his obituarist. Luiso *Studi*, p. 33 n. 39 wrongly gave to Lupi Panormita's *Sententia ad Balbum* (= *Hermaphroditus* II. 24) and Francesco Patrizi's *Ecloga de Christi natali*; but some verses on the death of Antonio da San Gimignano, grammar master at Pistoia (died c. 1411), not known to Traversari, survive in Riccard. 906 ff. 30-31; on this poem see G. C. Alessio, "Hec Franciscus de Buiti", *IMU*, 24 (1981), 71. For verses of 1417 see n. 42 above. Leonardo Dati celebrates Lupi's poetic laurel in elegiacs presumably of the 1450s (F. Flamini in *GSLI*, 16 (1890), 76-77, corrected as to the date by Traversari I, 15 n. 5, III, 126). 'Exametris latini' of Lupi, without further specification, are recorded in Urbana B.C. MS 30, *Inventari dei mss*, 34 (1926), 137.

<sup>51</sup> Traversari II, pp. 124-26.

<sup>52</sup> See E. Casanova, "La libreria di M. Mattia Lupi da S. Gimignano", *Rivista delle biblioteche e degli archivi*, 8 (1897), 64-68, Pecori, *Storia*, pp. 335-38, Traversari I, pp. 22-24. The treatment of the library's history promised by U. Nomi Venerosi Pesciolini (cf. Casanova, pp. 64-65) never appeared, as far as I know.

The first deed of gift was made in 1449 when he was residing in Prato, and further explanatory declarations followed in 1456<sup>53</sup>. These documents provide in detail for the housing, care and arrangement of the books and lay down the stringent conditions under which they might be consulted. Only a 'grammaticus competens...aut studens in quacumque scientia' may have access to the library, which is designed primarily for the use of students native to San Gimignano, or from elsewhere if the keyholders see fit. The arrangements were at length completed in 1460 and in a building adjoining the Collegiata erected for the purpose the books remained until Duke Cosimo I had them brought to Florence in 1568. They then entered the Medici library, and hence the present Laurenziana.

That at least is the usual story, but the forced 'gift' to the Duke evidently did not include all Lupi's books. We have already noted a couple of his manuscripts, early teaching texts, which remained in the Collegiata library and passed thence to the modern Biblioteca Comunale: MSS 19 and 30, Villa Dei and Francesco da Buti on Horace *Ars*. Our miscellaneous MS 27, also from the Collegiata, seems to be another that he owned<sup>54</sup>, and an attentive inspection of the actual manuscripts might well reveal more<sup>55</sup>. Of those that did travel to Florence, two have long been identified by Lupi's subscriptions. He copied the second part of Laur. 37.18, Silius Italicus, in January 1453/4<sup>56</sup>, and Laur. 53.8, Donatus on Terence, was written in April 1459

<sup>53</sup> These are printed by Casanova. No inventory of the books appears to survive.

<sup>54</sup> There are at least five hands in the six pages of which I have seen photographs (note the colophon of 'Meus Duccii de Monte Vettolino' on f. 27<sup>v</sup>, dated 1409: possibly a pupil of Lupi, from Montevettolini near Pistoia). Lupi's cursive hand is seen again on f. 128<sup>v</sup>, an infill of 8½ lines.

<sup>55</sup> E.g. MS 23, now excerpts of Seneca Pater, *Controv.*, which used to have also (still in 1905: Garosi, p. 115) Persius and Francesco da Buti's commentary thereon. Bartolommeo Fonizio, a commentator on Persius, used this MS for his *collectanea* (Riccard. 673, f. 186<sup>v</sup>, cf. S. Caroti, S. Zamponi, *Lo scrittoio di B. Fonizio* [Milan, 1974], p. 53) and Lorenzo Mehus surmised that it had belonged to Lupi (*Vita Ambrosii Traversarii* [Florence, 1759], p. 379). Antonio da S. Gimignano's school at Pistoia was a 'nodal point' for the diffusion of Francesco da Buti's commentaries (Alessio, as n. 50 above, p. 75). Lupi commemorated Antonio's death (n. 50) and also taught grammar at Pistoia in 1403, probably in association with him. Was Lupi, like Antonio, a teacher of Sozomeno of Pistoia?

<sup>56</sup> Bandini, *Catalogus* II, 255—Traversari I, 22 n. 6 wrongly gives '1463'. Silius was a discovery of Poggio in 1417. The date of Lupi's transcription suggests a connexion with Poggio's return to Florence in 1453; but he is never, I think, mentioned by Poggio. (Note, however, that the grammatical excerpts of Probus and Victorinus in S. Gimignano 27 ff. 99-100, 103-4 derive from Poggio's Vat. Lat. 11458, directly or indirectly; I do not know if these are in Lupi's hand.) Following the subscription Lupi wrote out Martial's epigram,

expressly 'pro bibliotheca sua geminianensi'<sup>57</sup>. Dr de la Mare has recently revealed the identity of the scribe of two further Laurentian manuscripts, written in an early humanistic script, as Bartolommeo di Pietro Nerucci of San Gimignano, a known acquaintance of Lupi<sup>58</sup>; and Lupi's arms, probably original, adorn both books, Laur. 36.23, originally Ovid *Fasti* and Catullus, and 51.9, Macrobius *Saturnalia* and Apuleius *De deo Socratis*<sup>59</sup>. Apart from their palaeographical interest, these manuscripts have notable textual affinities. The Catullus was probably copied from the important text of Coluccio Salutati before Salutati's death in 1406, and may also be connected with Poggio's early copy. The Macrobius underwent correction from Salutati's manuscript, whether in his lifetime or not is unclear<sup>60</sup>. It seems then that Nerucci wrote out for Lupi in the early years of the fifteenth century classical texts which mixed in the highest scholarly circles. These came to form part of the collection which Lupi eventually gave to San Gimignano for the encouragement and advancement of learning<sup>61</sup>. The great exemplar in Lupi's lifetime for a benefaction of this sort was Niccolò Niccoli, protégé of Salutati and friend, later enemy, of Leonardo Bruni. I think Traversari was right to see in Niccoli's bequest the model of Lupi's own largesse<sup>62</sup>. It so

VII. 63, on Silius (given by Traversari III, 122 as if it were Lupi's own), which is found in two other Silius MSS: H. Blass in *Jahrbücher für class. Philol.* Suppl. 8 (1875), 175-79.

<sup>57</sup> Bandini, *Catalogus* II, 604.

<sup>58</sup> Praise of him in *Annales* Bk III = Bandini *Suppl.* III, 508. I suggest above (n. 44) that he delivered Lupi's funeral oration. He was still alive, though very ancient, in 1473, when he was Chancellor of the Commune (Carosi, p. 201 on S. Gim. 62). For his Dante studies see F. Maggini in *Archivio storico pratese*, 4 (1921), 27 ff., 5 (1924), 32 ff. With other books, he bequeathed a *Commedia* with Francesco da Buti's commentary, written by himself, to supplement Lupi's library (Pecori, *Storia*, p. 336). The commentaries are now Laur. 42.14-16, copied by Nerucci in 1432-34 (Bandini, *Catalogus* V, 180-85, and cf. de la Mare (as next note), p. 100). Laur. 42.14 p. 181 is inscribed 'Dalla comunità di San Gimignano'.

<sup>59</sup> A. C. de la Mare, "Humanistic Script: the first ten years", in *Das Verhältnis der Humanisten zum Buch*, ed. F. Krafft and D. Wuttke (Boppard, 1977), pp. 89-110 at 98-100. Plate 5 shows Laur. 36.23 (which Lupi annotated) f. 1, with his arms, unfortunately indistinct in the reproduction.

<sup>60</sup> de la Mare, pp. 98-99, D. F. S. Thomson in *Yale Class. Studies*, 23 (1973), 118. Salutati is mentioned among the poets listed in Bk IX of the *Annales* (cf. Traversari II, 119), but the passage has not been printed.

<sup>61</sup> While reviewing the identified remnants of the library, I may remark that the attribution to Lupi of a lost Celsus MS (by F. Marx, *Corpus medicorum latinorum* I [Leipzig 1915], pp. xli-xlii) rests on very thin speculation. Pecori, *Storia*, p. 336 n.1. mentions as MSS alienated from the collection and later recovered. an Aulus Gellius and a Decade of Livy.

<sup>62</sup> I. 23. Another Sangimignanese teacher, Abbot Onofrio, had left the Commune a number of books at his death in 1441, but the project was moribund when Lupi made his provisions of 1449; cf. Casanova, 'La libreria', p. 64.

happened that the Macrobius from which Lupi's text was corrected passed after Salutati's death into the hands of Niccoli<sup>63</sup>; and direct evidence of friendly relations with Niccoli, as well as with Bruni, can now be offered.

This evidence lies, to return to our starting point, in Bruni's letters. Lupi's attitude towards Bruni verged on hero worship, amply attested in the *Annales Geminianenses*. Not only was the epic explicitly inspired by Bruni's *Historiae* but he also makes several unexpected appearances in the poem. In the tangled chronicle of Italian, Tuscan and purely local events that makes up Book III, his birth and death both, at their appropriate place in the annals, occasion praise of the man that Lupi saw as the 'lumen eloquii' of the age<sup>64</sup>. He is named also in Book IX in a roll call of poets, preceding Bruni's fellow Aretine and successor as Florentine Chancellor, Carlo Marsuppini<sup>65</sup>. In Book III again we find a more personal connexion, which has been persistently misunderstood:

Vnicus eloquii Leonardus honos erat illo  
tempore, quem Lupius Graeco sermone sequutus  
plebem promeruit, alterni foedus amoris.  
Dum simul Historiarum libros ac Ethicorum  
ederet, ille mihi 'Quonam modo consulis, edam'  
dicebat; repetens ego sic semper referebam,  
'Mentis ad ornatum sunt hi (his *cod.*) maioris honoris,  
illis fama datur; sed sume utriusque laborem  
assiduum, nam fit virtus exercita maior.'  
His ait hortatus, 'Bene dicis, utrosque sequemur'<sup>66</sup>.

This passage is the sole support for the assertion made by all who have written on Lupi that he was in some formal way Bruni's pupil<sup>67</sup>. It

<sup>63</sup> See B. L. Ullman and P. H. Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence: Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de' Medici and the Library of San Marco* (Padua, 1972) for a full account of Niccoli's library; p. 230 no. 891 for Macrobius *Saturnalia*, Laur. S. Marco 328.

<sup>64</sup> Both passages quoted by Traversari II, 113.

<sup>65</sup> Quoted by Traversari II, 119. Cf. the funeral speech (Traversari III, 125): 'Quo enim, ut alios omittam, studio, qua humanitate Leonardum ac Karolum Aretinos eloquentissimos et integros homines ac divinarum artium eruditissimos coluit?' I have not come across evidence of this familiarity of Lupi and Marsuppini.

<sup>66</sup> Bandini, *Suppl.* III, 507; quoted in fragments by Traversari I, 16 n. 2; p. 14 n. 2.

<sup>67</sup> From Coppi in 1695 onwards: 'fu scolare del gran Leonardo Bruni d'Arezzo, dal quale ebbe la lezione dell'arte Istorica e dell'Etica d'Aristotile', *Annali* (as n. 36) 2, 195. Bandini, who took over Coppi's statement (*Catalogus* II, 94, *Suppl.* III, 503), marked in his margin against the opening lines of the quoted passage, 'Matthias plebanus discipulus Leon. Arretini'. Inherited fantasy mingles strangely with straightforward interpretation in Traversari I, 12-14.

appears to rest on a perverse interpretation of the opening lines to mean, 'I gained my pieve through following Leonardo's lessons in Greek'. All that can be legitimately extracted, however, is that Lupi secured the benefice at Aiuolo by petitioning Bruni, at that time a papal secretary, in a Greek letter. The date of this success will become clear in a moment. At a later stage, around 1415, when Bruni began work on his Florentine history and on the translation of Aristotle's *Ethics*<sup>68</sup>, Lupi was flattered to be consulted as to how the author should proceed to publication. His advice, though not ideally clear, was that Bruni should pursue both works concurrently, for the intellectual merit and utility of the translation would complement the fame which the History would bring. So much for the master-pupil relationship. It is certainly interesting that Bruni was approached by a petition in Greek, but we cannot say how Lupi came by this accomplishment, of which only the merest trace survives elsewhere. Perhaps one should think rather of the common pursuit of the *studia humanitatis* in Salutati's circle, which would have an obvious attraction for the bookish young schoolmaster stationed at nearby Prato<sup>69</sup>.

Traversari found no mention of Lupi in Bruni's own works<sup>70</sup>, but some letters were overlooked and more evidence has since come to light. In particular, a letter to Niccoli of 30 March 1408, when Bruni was attending Gregory XII in Lucca, refers directly to the grant by the pope of Lupi's request for preferment<sup>71</sup>. When in writing the *Annales* Lupi states that he had held his pieve at Aiuolo for more than fifty years in virtue of a grant of the pope himself<sup>72</sup>, it is plain that this is the very benefice to which Bruni's letter alludes. There are other signs of early acquaintance: in 1407 Bruni invited Niccoli to meet him at Lupi's villa 'quae est Senis propinqua'<sup>73</sup>, and in 1409 Niccoli had sent on to Bruni a

<sup>68</sup> For the date, see H. Baron, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino: humanistisch-philosophische Schriften* (Leipzig 1928), p. 164 and 176 on these works.

<sup>69</sup> The only hint that Bruni ever gave formal teaching is an obscure sentence in a letter to Poggio, c. 1411, which refers to unwilling 'labores legendi': Luiso, *Studi*, p. 74; cf. R. Fubini in *Poggii opera omnia*, IV (Turin, 1969), p. 583 ff. on this.

<sup>70</sup> Traversari I, 15 n. 5.

<sup>71</sup> Ep. II. 1 Mehus: 'Negotia Lupi nostri de quibus significavi tibi, iam saepius me per tuas litteras monuisti, scias plane his proximis diebus esse confecta: postulatio enim ... nobis deprecantibus per Pontificem admissa est.' This shows Niccoli's especial interest in Lupi's progress. Luiso, *Studi*, p. 47 gives a passage on this matter omitted from Mehus' edition.

<sup>72</sup> Bandini *Suppl.* III, 517 = Traversari I, 24-25, verses of Bk IX which incorporate a letter sent to Pius II in 1459, on which see below.

<sup>73</sup> Ep. II. 9 Mehus, dated from Siena 9 September 1407. Possibly Bruni refers to Lupi's residence at S. Gimignano, though that is not very close to Siena.

letter of Lupi, to which Bruni replied<sup>74</sup>. Further contact, indeed intimacy, is implied by the literary advice given by Lupi c.1415, and the new letter of Bruni recommends 'familiarem meum' at the end of 1420. After this date, so far as the *Annales* or the *epistolario* go, the friendship might seem to have withered, to become a fond memory of Lupi's old age. Yet two later productions of Bruni show that the grand Chancellor of Florence did not forget the obscure grammarian.

Bruni became Chancellor at the end of 1427 and died in 1444, eminent and rich — sleek and contented too, one would think from his famous tomb portrait. Between these dates he wrote a letter in his official capacity to the Siennese signoria in which he commended their efforts to help 'dominum Matthiam plebanum Aioli' recover some stolen goods<sup>75</sup>. The short letter concludes with renewed recommendations of the priest, 'who is returning to Siena'. Even more remarkable testimony of continued favour is found in the will that Bruni drew up on 22 March 1439. It disposes of such of his goods as were not destined for the main beneficiary, his son Donato. The only person outside his immediate family who is remembered in the will is Mattia Lupi: one hundred florins are to be paid to the church of 'S. Petri de Aiuolo...pro divino officio celebrando et pro victu rectoris ipsius ecclesie'<sup>76</sup>. It was an act of charity that the Chancellor could well afford, and doubtless it earned a mass at Aiuolo for his soul when it departed this earth on 9 March 1444.

It is difficult to gauge the feeling behind these fugitive references, the barest external signs of a bond that lasted from Lupi's youth to Bruni's death. It was never a relationship of equals, in terms of social or intellectual distinction, nor does Lupi ever pretend that it was. Affection at any rate was not all on one side and Lupi's proud claims of friendship with one of the great figures of the age find surprising vindication. It is perhaps just as well that Bruni did not live to see himself enshrined in the *Annales Geminianenses*, alongside the record of monstrous childbirths and observations on soil fertility.

<sup>74</sup> Ep. III. 7 Mehus, dated from Rimini 13 February 1409. This must be read in the much fuller version given by Luiso, *Studi* pp. 59-62; p. 62 for the letter of 'Lupi nostri'.

<sup>75</sup> Apparently from a roguish friar: 'ab illo fratre pessimo', *sic* in Laur. 90 sup. 34 f. 153<sup>r-v</sup> (Bandini *Catalogus* III, 501, p. 142 of the old foliation). Perhaps other traces of this affair survive among Bruni's official correspondence, which has never been properly investigated.

<sup>76</sup> V. R. Giustiniani, "Il testamento di Leonardo Bruni", *Rinascimento* ser. 2, 4 (1964), 259-64 at 261.



As for Niccolò Niccoli, we are quite in the dark about the quality of that friendship, attested in Bruni's early references to 'noster Lupus'. By chance, however, a little tract of Lupi's composition, recently identified in the Vatican library<sup>77</sup>, expresses an unusual view of the Florentine humanist, and claims attention also for the light it throws on the author's learning. The piece is preceded by a prefatory letter to Iacopo Diotiguardi of San Gimignano, at that time Chancellor of Prato, and is autograph throughout, written in a humanistic script which declines in formality as Lupi admits more and more corrections and revisions to his draft (fig. 2)<sup>78</sup>. Iacopo had asked him to deliver judgement on two particular points of orthography put forward by a shared acquaintance, Matteo Ronto<sup>79</sup>, which he does with some vigour and the full panoply of traditional grammatical learning. The aspiration of *anhelo* and the short second syllable of *elegans* are conclusively proved against Ronto by authority (Priscian, Isidore, Petrus Helias, Uguccio, Papias, Villa Dei and the *Catholicon*), by derivation and good usage, and by arguments of phonetic mechanism taken from Priscian. Villa Dei's *Doctrinale* (one of Lupi's surviving books) is incidentally refuted on the quantity of *tristēga* by reference to the original form, carefully spelt in Greek letters, found at *Acts* 20.9, and elsewhere Ronto's spelling of *Aristotiles* is corrected by appeal to Greek witnesses. If Ronto, to whom Ser Iacopo is to show Lupi's remarks, should complain of inadequate access to good texts, 'in nostrum veniat pluteum; bona equidem pace 'anhelo' aspirari in mille librorum voluminibus demonstrabo' (f.33).

The exposition, at times murky and repetitious, is oiled by classical quotation, from Terence, Juvenal, Gellius, Persius and (through the medieval *Aesopica*) Phaedrus among others. Of five citations of Cicero (not always acknowledged as such), the four that derive from *Tusculan*

<sup>77</sup> Alessio (as n. 50), p. 71 n. 29: 'La minuta di una sua lettera a Giacomo cancelliere di Prato, forse provvista di correzioni e postille autografe, è contenuta nel Vat. lat. 14415 ff. 32<sup>v</sup>-34<sup>v</sup>'.

<sup>78</sup> The letter on f. 32<sup>v</sup>, the body of the tract ff. 32<sup>v</sup>-34<sup>v</sup>, very heavily corrected towards the end. That it is wholly autograph (an opinion confirmed by Dr de la Mare) is indicated first by the marginal additions themselves, which are such as only the author would make, and then by the clear relation of the capital letters to those of the cursive hand of S. Gimignano 27.

<sup>79</sup> An Olivetan monk, died at Siena 1442. On him see M. Messina in *Enciclopedia Dantesca* s.v., with bibliography. I suppose Lupi is attacking part of Ronto's *Orthographia novella*, the date of which is unknown. See Sabbadini, *Commento* 280 ff., where the preface of the work is printed, with other information on this strange writer.

*Disputations* are all found in the marginal additions, suggesting that the work was read with the specific aim of finding decoration for the technical arguments. It is not by now surprising to find Bruni quoted in support of general principles, on a level with the ancient authors<sup>80</sup>. Quite unexpected however is the introduction of Niccoli as a model of how to take criticism:

Hinc (for hunc?) quem odio quidam habent, Nicholaum dico de Nicholis, permaxime diligo. Dicunt enim eum carpsorem mordacem-que omnium. At si attendant quam patiens quamque tolerabilis sit cum a quoquam iuste reprehenditur, nullus eorum profecto sibi infensus erit, sed summa virtute eum ignorationis osorem ac scientie probatorem censebit. (f.32<sup>v</sup>)

These few lines give something of the flavour of Lupi's prose, a flavour more medieval than humanistic. *Osor* was a rarity which finds no place in extant classical Latin after Plautus and before Apuleius: our author no doubt picked it from the lexicographers Papias and Uguccio. In a discourse precisely on orthography it was at least unwise to vary *carptor* to a *vox nihili carpsor*; and humanists of Niccoli's stamp would not have mingled noun and adjective in *carpsorem mordacemque*, not so much Tacitean elegance as simple inattention. We are left, finally, to guess whose is the *summa virtute* which dangles in the last clause. There are solid arguments, necessarily derivative, in the piece, but the overall impression is of earnest and pedestrian learning, by no means lightly worn, and prey to the same diffuseness which has repelled readers of his poetry. Perhaps Lupi was one of those young men whose early studies, as Vespasiano da Bisticci tells us, had been stimulated and examined by the *ensor* of Florentine letters<sup>81</sup>. His tribute to Niccoli's tolerance, a side of his nature rarely on view to others, at least shows that the friendly contact of the early years of the century remained vivid to Lupi in the late 1420s, beyond which knowledge fails us<sup>82</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> 'Leonardus noster, aureum hodie flumen eloquentie, quem non sine magna reverentia audeo nominare, ea in epistola quam ad grammaticum misit [Ep. I. 8 M.] "indocorum, inquit, corruptela non usus loquendi appellandus est sed abusio"' f. 33; Bruni's translation of Basil *Ad adolescentes* is quoted f. 32. On f. 34 Lupi says he daily absorbs Aristotle's philosophy 'in illa elegantissima deductione quam nuperrime ... Leonardus Arretinus edidit.' This I take to be the *Isagogicon moralis disciplinae* of 1425 (cf. H. Baron, "The date of Leonardo Bruni's *Isagogicon* ...", *Yearbook of Italian Studies*, I [1971], 64-74).

<sup>81</sup> *Le Vite* ed. A. Greco (Florence 1971-76) II, 229-30.

<sup>82</sup> I date the piece to this period because it appears to come after Bruni's *Isagogicon*, and Niccoli's great feud with Bruni (of which Lupi must have been aware, as the letter here published shows) ended in 1426. I have not been able to establish when Ser Iacopo became

A very different picture of relations with another well-known humanist emerges from the *Hermaphroditus* of Antonio Beccadelli, il Panormita. The author of these scabrous poems made Lupi's acquaintance, and conceived a violent dislike of him, while a student at the Studio of Siena in the 1420s<sup>83</sup>. The grammar master is the butt of a dozen epigrams, uniformly vicious in tone<sup>84</sup>. A sample (I.23):

Annua publicitus tibi larga pecunia, Lupi,  
solvitur; et pueris quot legis ipse? tribus.

In another he adds that one of the three was Lupi's servant (II.16). It is said that Panormita, born 1394, was a pupil of the victim of these attacks<sup>85</sup>, but he would at that stage have passed beyond the modest studies that were Lupi's metier. It is altogether more likely that he was motivated by professional rivalry, that, short of money, he was casting envious eyes on the lucrative contract for public teaching, *annua pecunia*<sup>86</sup>. There appears also to have been a certain poetic rivalry. The contents of *Hermaphroditus* are defended against Lupi's criticisms (I.10), and he is denied any share in the Muses who had so liberally endowed Panormita (II.27). One free-standing couplet is worth singling out of the morass of sexual aspersion for the indication it gives of Lupi's taste in poetry. A play on the unequal elegiac measure of Martial's verse combines with malicious reference to Lupi's *vitium surae* — Lupi limped.

Lupius abs poscis me rara epigrammata Marci.  
Concedam: rectis passibus ipse veni (II.15)<sup>87</sup>.

Chancellor of Prato; he still held the post in 1453, when he was helping Lupi in the arrangements for the building of the library at S. Gimignano (Pecori, *Storia*, pp. 335-36).

<sup>83</sup> Panormita probably came to Siena in 1420, and left shortly before the publication of *Hermaphroditus* in 1425. Lupi is attested there by our letter of 1420, by a document of 31 March 1424 (Corso, as next note, 147 n. 1), and more generally by the obituarist's reference to the admiration of 'Senense collegium'. He is not mentioned, however, in L. Zdekauer, *Lo Studio di Siena nel Rinascimento* (Milan, 1894). That he was succeeded as professor of Greek in 1434 by Filelfo is an invention of Traversari (I, 19), based on a careless remark of Voigt, *Risorgimento* I, p. 409.

<sup>84</sup> Ed. C. Forberg (Coburg, 1824), nos. I. 10, 11, 23, 24, 26, 36, II. 15, 16, 19, 24, 27, conveniently printed together by Traversari III, 127-29. G. Corso, "Il Panormita a Siena e l'*Ermafrodito*", *Bullettino Senese* 60 (1953), 138-88, points out that I. 7 is also aimed at Lupi (p. 147).

<sup>85</sup> E.g. Voigt, *Risorgimento* I, 409, and those who follow him. Luiso, *Studi*, p. 33 n. 39 conveys the impression that Panormita was a friend.

<sup>86</sup> So F. Satullo, *La giovinezza di Antonio Beccadelli* (Palermo, 1906), pp. 24-26.

<sup>87</sup> Martial was still fairly uncommon in the early fifteenth century. Cf. U. Carratello in *Giornale italiano di filologia* 26 (1974), 11; 27 (1975), 223-24 on Panormita and Martial, his chief model; and n. 56 above on a Martial epigram later copied by Lupi.

The great *succès de scandale* of these epigrams must have been more influential in spreading Lupi's name through the world of humanism than any efforts of his own. Small wonder that his *Annales* never mention Panormita, not even in the enumeration of poets that manages to embrace Moses, Archilochus and Zanobi da Strada<sup>88</sup>.

The long list of poets in Book IX arises from praise of the eloquence of Pius II, Enea Silvio Piccolomini<sup>89</sup>. Into the preceding account of Pius' doomed crusading endeavours is inserted a poetic letter which Lupi claims to have sent him by way of encouragement. It ends, as well it might, 'Quis sim forte petes...'. He explains:

....tibi prae-notissimus olim,  
nos licet adversis fatibus dividerit hora.  
Ecce ego philosophos toties auditus in urbe  
enucleare tua, dum me iuvenilior aetas  
duxit in obsequium tanti communis habendum,  
quorum doctrinam prius edocui, fateor, quam  
me didicisse...<sup>90</sup>.

These explanations of the philosophers (a term of very general application to ancient authors) were given to the young Enea Silvio about 1424. To that year Traversari referred a passage on the future pope's earliest studies in a late letter of Gregorio Lolli to Cardinal Ammanati<sup>91</sup>:

Primum habuit praeceptorem Antonium quendam Aretinum. Audivit et Mathiam Lupium claudum — in cuius suram inductus est Antonius Panormita his versibus, 'Dic mihi cur, Lupi, longo vestiris amictu: An vitium surae vis operire toga?'<sup>92</sup> — et Ioannem quendam Spole-tanum.

Whatever gratitude the ailing Pius may have felt towards his old teacher, no tokens of it appear in the record. Lupi's direct appeal for aid in defending his *pieve* at Aiuolo against usurpers, which follows the words quoted above from Book IX, was to all appearances unsuccessful.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Traversari II, 118-19, with précis of Bk IX.

<sup>89</sup> 'Senensis patria Aeneas oriens hominumque parvorum de stirpe', Traversari III, p. 133; *parvi homines* = Piccolomini.

<sup>90</sup> Traversari III, p. 136. For the continuation see Bandini, *Suppl.* III. 517.

<sup>91</sup> Traversari I, p. 17 n. 2, citing *Epistolae et commentarii Iacobi Piccolomini* [Ammanati] *cardinalis Papiensis*, Milan 1506 (and Milan 1521), f. 32. Lolli was a cousin of Enea Silvio, who as a student lived in his house.

<sup>92</sup> Quoting the first couplet of *Herm.* I. 11.



ful<sup>93</sup>. The voluminous works of Pius seem never to mention the instruction which once had made Lupi 'praenotissimus' to him, although another of his Siennese teachers, Lupi's friend Mariano Sozzini, was remembered with affection<sup>94</sup>. It may well be that the Aeneas on whom Pius turned his back in self-reproach inclined more to the Panormitan world of 'molles Senae' than to the dusty grammarian from San Gimignano. At all events even as a churchman he was pleased to recall his old friendship with the author of *Hermaphroditus*, a friendship which must have been painful to the chief victim of that collection<sup>95</sup>.

We have examined Mattia Lupi's connexions with three major humanists, Bruni, Panormita and Pius II; their attitudes seem to have been respectively affection, aversion and indifference. For Salutati and Poggio, a link as yet insecure can be inferred from the books that Lupi owned, for he is not mentioned in their copious *epistolari*. Nor is he found in the letters of Guarino, despite the warmth implied in the funeral speech: 'quanto amore ac usu Guarinum Grece et Latine lingue peritissimum complexus'<sup>96</sup>. Niccolò Niccoli was certainly a friend in the first decade of the Quattrocento, and probably later, but more than that we cannot say. No-one apparently thought it worth preserving Lupi's letters, although many must have been sent in the eighty-eight years of his life. New evidence, particularly to be hoped for from a systematic attempt to identify his surviving manuscripts, will perhaps clarify some of these relations, but it may be doubted whether the essential picture will alter. It is one of mediocrity on the fringes of greatness. The same instincts which led him to set such a high value on ancient literature and modern learning bequeathed to posterity a monstrous poem which has never been read without revulsion. If Lupi is measured by his interests and enthusiasms, he deserves to be called a 'minor humanist'. On a

<sup>93</sup> Traversari I, pp. 24-25.

<sup>94</sup> For Pius and Sozzini, cf. the former's *De viris illustribus*, Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart I [1843], p. 27), and J. A. Tedeschi in *Italian Reformation Studies in honor of Laelius Socinus* ed. Tedeschi (Florence, 1965), pp. 282-87; Sozzini as Lupi's friend, Traversari I, 25; III, 118.

<sup>95</sup> In a letter of 1450, Pius, who was some eleven years younger than Panormita, speaks of their 'vetusta consuetudine quam Senis in adolescentia simul habuimus' (*Briefwechsel* ed. R. Wolkan III. 1 [Vienna, 1918], p. 436).

<sup>96</sup> Traversari III, 25; he suggested, sensibly enough, that they may have become acquainted during Guarino's stay in Florence, 1410-14 (I. 15). It is possible that Giannicola Salerno later acted as a channel for Lupi's 'amor ac usus'. The claimed acquaintance with Carlo Marsuppini likewise lacks support (n. 65 above).

cooler view, his life will be seen as an example of a phenomenon not often observable, the penetration of the brilliant energies of early humanism into a lower, more rustic, less comprehending level of culture.

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Plagulis additum:

Bibl. Nazionale, Florence, cod. Panciatichi 148, a collection of Bruni's state letters, has the letter to the Sienese about Lupi (see above p. 14 and n. 75: for *fratore* read *fraudatore*) dated 27 March 1439 on f. 96. An earlier letter to the same discloses that Lupi had been defrauded of a consignment of cloths by one Meo Tori (f. 92<sup>v</sup>, 11 March 1438/9).

SPRACHLICHE UND SACHLICHE BEMERKUNGEN  
ZU EINER NEUEN AUSGABE  
DES CYRIACUS VON ANCONA (II)\*

471-504 (Brief an Georgios Scholarios vom 29. September 1444)<sup>1</sup>

Die sprachlich-stilistische Variationskunst des Cyriacus kommt hier besonders deutlich zum Ausdruck: Cyriacus behandelt zwar in diesem Brief dasselbe Thema wie in seinen unmittelbar vorhergehenden privaten Tagebuchaufzeichnungen (Z. 426-459)<sup>2</sup>; denn in beiden Texten berichtet Cyriacus über seine Reise vom 20. bis 28. Sept. 1444, und beide Schilderungen weisen mit jeweils 34 Zeilen auch exakt denselben Umfang auf. Aber im Brief an Georgios Scholarios legt Cyriacus den Verlauf der Reise in ganz anderer Weise dar als in seinen Tagebuchnotizen, die er nur einen Tag vorher (nämlich am 28. Sept.) niedergeschrieben hatte.

Daß Cyriacus' Brief an Georgios Scholarios—den späteren Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Gennadios II.<sup>3</sup>—auf einer literarisch höheren Stufe steht als der analoge Bericht im Tagebuch, läßt bereits die Prädikation des Briefempfängers in der Begrüßungsformel erkennen: *Kyriacus Scholario, viro Graecorum doctissimo, salutem*. Mit einem Minimum an Aufwand erreicht hier also Cyriacus ein Maximum an Wirkung: Indem Cyriacus Georgios lapidar als den 'Gelehrtesten der Griechen' apostrophiert, verwendet er einen Superlativ, der nicht etwa lediglich als rhetorische Übertreibung—wie etwa *Graecorum longe doctissimus* als Attribut des sonst unbekannten *rhetor Hermodorus* bei Horaz (*Sat.* 1,5,2/3)—, sondern ganz wörtlich aufzufassen ist, da er dem

\* Fortsetzung und Abschluß unseres Beitrages in: *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 32 (1983), 45-74; hier abgekürzt: Cyr. I. Der dort (S. 67, Anm. 1) angekündigte Beitrag wird in erweiterter Form als selbständige Publikation erscheinen.—Eine kritische Ausgabe speziell der Briefe des Cyriacus vom Dez. 1443 bis März 1447 kündigt E. W. Bodnar in einem neuen Beitrag an: "Ciriaco d'Ancona e la crociata di Varna. Nuove Prospettive", *Il Veltro*, 27 (1983), 235-251, S. 235.

<sup>1</sup> Zur lateinischen Briefliteratur der Renaissance allgemein vgl. Cyr. I 61-65 und jetzt: *Der Brief im Zeitalter der Renaissance*, hrsg. von F.J. Worstbrock, in: Mitteilung IX d. Komm. f. Humanismusforschung (Weinheim, Acta humaniora 1983).

<sup>2</sup> Charakteristik dieses Textes in Cyr. I 68-74.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. zu ihm jetzt die bibliographischen Angaben u. zu Z. 471.



geistesgeschichtlichen Rang des Adressaten tatsächlich entspricht; denn Georgios Scholarios gilt als der bedeutendste Theologe der Palaiologenzeit<sup>4</sup>. So ist auch die Wahl der Adjektivs *doctus* bzw. des Superlativs *doctissimus* kein Zufall: Zum einen spielt Cyriacus mit *doctissimus* sicherlich auf Georgios' Beinamen 'Scholarios' an; zum anderen ist zu bedenken, daß dieser neben der Theologie auch Latein intensiv studierte und demgemäß für das Studium der Lateiner durch die Griechen gerade deswegen plädierte, weil sich die Lateiner insbesondere durch ihre Gelehrsamkeit auszeichneten. Man kann daher von vornherein vermuten, daß Cyriacus den Brief an G. Scholarios auf eine extrem hohe literarische Ebene zu heben versuchte, indem er sich—entsprechend einer Grundforderung der Epistolographie—dem Bildungsniveau des Adressaten seines Briefes anpaßte<sup>5</sup>.

Diese Tendenz tritt exemplarisch schon im ersten Satz zutage. Die wesentlichen Unterschiede zwischen Brief und Tagebuch lassen sich besser erkennen, wenn man die beiden Textfassungen direkt einander gegenüberstellt; Kursivdruck soll dabei auf die wörtlichen bzw. sachlichen Übereinstimmungen hinweisen:

## Tagebuch (Z. 426-433)

Ad XII Kal. Octob. *ex Byzantio* Lemnum petens et Hellespontiacam pontificiam classem petens *triremem regiam* Alexio Disypato praefecto *conscendi*; et ad VIII Kal. *Praeconesiam in Propontiaco marmorigenam insulam venimus* et ingentia marmora incisa et nostra ipsa ad littora imminencia vidimus et ingentem vivo in saxo speluncam, supra quam erat sic inscriptum: ...

## Brief (Z. 473-6)

Postquam *abs te* et regia *Byzantio* urbe *concessimus*, clarissime Scholarie vir, *basilea devectus* *trireme ad VIII. K. Oct. Proeconesum, Propontiacam atque marmorigenam insulam, venimus*, cum venti omnes posuissent et lento saepius in marmore tonsae luctassent.

Hatte Cyriacus also seinen Tagebuchbericht in formal anspruchsloser Weise begonnen, indem er die einzelnen Etappen seiner Reise parataktisch aneinanderreihete und dabei die einfachsten sprachlichen Mittel benutzte, eröffnet er seinen Brief an Georgios Scholarios, in welchem er denselben Sachverhalt mitteilt, mit einer kunstvollen Periode und erlese-

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. *Tusculum-Lexikon griechischer und lateinischer Autoren des Altertums und des Mittelalters* (München-Zürich, 1982) S. 271-2.

<sup>5</sup> Ähnlich verhält sich Cyriacus auch in den anderen Briefen der vorliegenden Ausgabe; vgl. Cyr. I 61-65 und u. S. 36.

nen Worten: Statt durchgehender Parataxe verwendet Cyriacus in diesem Parallelbericht eine für den rhetorischen Stil<sup>6</sup> typische hypotaktische Konstruktion mit zwei Nebenzätzen in verschiedenen Zeitstufen (*postquam* mit dem Perfekt *concessimus* sowie *cum* mit Konj. Plusqpf. *posuissent* und *luctassent*); den sprachlich ungeschickten und sachlich ungenauen zweimaligen Gebrauch des Part. Präs. *petens* ersetzt er durch das formallogisch korrekte Part. Pf. *devectus*, so daß der Satz anstelle von zwei gleichgeordneten Prädikaten (*conscendi-venimus*) nur ein Hauptverb (*venimus*) aufweist, um das sich die übrigen Satzglieder gruppieren.

Durch diese Umformungen verwandelte mithin Cyriacus die entsprechenden Angaben seines Tagebuchs im Brief an Georgios Scholarios in ein Satzgefüge, das den Ansprüchen der klassischen lateinischen Syntax und Stilistik vollauf genügt. Allerdings nahm Cyriacus dabei einen Verlust an Informationsgehalt in Kauf: Zwar teilt er—wie die Tabelle oben verdeutlicht—die wichtigsten Fakten, welche die Vorlage seines Tagebuchs enthält, auch dem Adressaten seines Briefes mit. Aber nur im Tagebuch gibt er (a) den präzisen Abfahrtstag, (b) sein konkretes Reiseziel, (c) den Namen des Alexius Disypatus und (d) die Details seines Aufenthalts auf der Insel *Praeconesus* mit. Die betreffenden Hinweise im Tagebuch müssen daher im Brief aus dem Gesamtzusammenhang erschlossen werden oder fehlen dort ganz. Cyriacus gleicht dieses Manko im Brief freilich aus, indem er seine Darstellung gewissermaßen poetisch überhöht. Denn zweifellos imitiert er auch hier einen Passus bei Vergil (*Aen.* 7,25-28)<sup>7</sup>:

Iamque rubescebat radiis mare et aethere ab alto  
Aurora in roseis fulgebat lutea bigis,  
cum venti posuere omnisque repente resedit  
flatus, et in lento luctantur marmore tonsae.

Cyriacus übernimmt jedoch nur die zweite Hälfte dieses Satzes (*cum* ...), verwendet dabei aber nicht wie Vergil das 'cum inversum' bzw. 'additivum' (in Verbindung mit dem Ind. Pf. *posuere/posuerunt* und

<sup>6</sup> Dazu jetzt generell M. Erren, *Einführung in die römische Kunstprosa* (Darmstadt, 1983), sowie die Spezialuntersuchung von E. Zundel, *Lehrstil und rhetorischer Stil in Quintilians Institutio oratoria* (Frankfurt, 1981).

<sup>7</sup> Bodnar-Mitchell weisen zwar auf diese Vergilstelle als Vorbild für Cyriacus hin, bieten aber—wie auch in den vielen anderen Fällen dieser Art—keine Erklärung des Verfahrens, welches Cyriacus bei der Adaption jener literarischen Vorlage anwandte.

Praes. hist. *luctantur*), sondern das 'cum historicum'; denn bei Cyriacus sind von *cum* die Konj. Plusqpf. *posuissent* und *luctassent* abhängig. Eine Abweichung gegenüber der Vorlage bei Vergil ist auch darin zu erkennen, daß Cyriacus *omnis* nicht zu *flatus* zieht, sondern zu *venti*; daher streicht Cyriacus Vergils Satzteil *omnis repente resedit* / *flatus* ganz und fügt stattdessen das Adverb eines Komparativs (*saepius*) hinzu, um dadurch das anschauliche Bild der gegen die marmorglatte See kämpfenden Ruder noch zu steigern. Mit allen diesen Variationen—durch den Wechsel der Tempora und Modi<sup>8</sup> ebenso wie durch die Amplifikationen—erzielt Cyriacus also eine ähnlich starke Wirkung wie Vergil. Jedenfalls ist hier wie in so vielen anderen besonders anspruchsvollen Texten des Cyriacus sein Bestreben erkennbar, das betreffende antike Vorbild—gemäß den beiden Grundprinzipien der lateinischen Literatur der Renaissance, *imitatio* und *aemulatio*<sup>9</sup>—zugleich nachzuahmen und womöglich zu überbieten<sup>10</sup>.

Auf dem gleichen Niveau wie der Einleitungssatz bewegen sich auch die folgenden Sätze des Briefes an Georgios Scholarios, wie eine Gegenüberstellung der Textfassungen wiederum verdeutlicht:

## Tagebuch (Z. 434-459)

Ad quintum Kal. Octob. *Hellespontum* venimus et prope *Lampsacon* et contra *obsidentemve* *Hellespontiacam Cheronesium* *Calliepolim* pontificiam ipsam XII navium *classem* comperimus, et *Ludovicum Lauredanum praefectum* una cum *Alexio trierarcho* nostro visimus; et eodem die *Boreis secundantibus crebris Imbron* ad *insulam* venimus, visis ex itineris nostri cursu *Threiciis Hellespontiacisque* antiquis ad *Europae littora* oppidis *Lysimachia*, *Calliepoli*, *Sesto*, *Cilla*, *Madidocrissaque*, ad *Asiae* vero vel *Phrygiae littus* *Abydo* et *Segeo*, *Troiae* nobili promontorio, et

## Brief (Z. 476-499)

Sed inde postquam ternos per dies noctesque placidi *Neptuni liquidum* sulcavimus *campum*, *Caeceis Boreisque aspirantibus Aeoliis Hellespontum* navigavimus et prope *vetustam Lampsacon pontificiam Lauredanamve* christianissimam *classem Cheronesium* in conspectu *Calliepolim obsidentem* comperimus; et una nostro cum optimo *Alexio Διοσπάρτῳ* regio *trierarcho*, viso salutatoque ac perdigne ad rem bene gerendam persuaso *Ludovico Lauredano* optimo *classis praefecto* eodem et fausto V.K. *Octobrium sereno* *Cyriaceoque* die, *secundis crebrescentibus auris*. *Hel-*

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. jetzt generell H. Pinkster, "Tempus, Aspect and Aktionsart (Recent trends 1961-1981)", in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, Bd. II 29,1 (Berlin-New York, 1983), Ss. 270-319.

<sup>9</sup> Vgl. H. G. Rötzer, *Traditionalität und Modernität in der europäischen Literatur ...* (Darmstadt, 1979).

<sup>10</sup> Zum 'Überbietungstopos' grundlegend E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern 1948), Ss. 171-174.

in conspectu Tenedo insula visis et ilico praetermissis.

*Ad IIII Kal. Octob. ex orientali Imbri littore, una viro cum docto et Imbriote nobili Hermodoro Michaelae Critobulo, ad occidentalem eiusdem insulae partem ad Imbron, antiquam olim et vetustissimam civitatem, terrestri itinere equis devecti et arduos per colles et prope civitatem planiciem venimus. Ubi ad summam civitatis arcem Manuelem Asanium, virum ex Byzantio et eius insulae pro Iohanne Palaeologo Imperatore benemerentem praesidem, quem et arcem ipsam duabus iam ex partibus noviter condidisse comperimus.*

lespontum superavimus laeti; et hinc inde *Hellespontiaca Europae* atque Asiae littora triremibus nostris oportunè custodita conspeximus; et tandem per Aegaeum Imbron venimus insulam oceano cadente Phoebo.

*Ex qua cum ad posteram diem triremis expetitam ad Lemnum navigasset, ego interim antiquam Imbron insulam et civitatem videre Threiciamque Samon, quae et nunc Samothracia fertur, indagare constitui et una tuo cum amicissimo viro et Imbriotum doctissimo, Michaelae Critobulo, heri III. K. Octobres terrestri itinere scrupeos arduosque per colles Imbron ad ipsam venimus vetustam, quam Παλαιόπολιν dicunt, olim magnam atque nobilem civitatem, ubi Manuelem Asanium novam quamvis ἀκρόπολιν iussu regio arcem turritam condidisse et exornatam comperimus.*

Ibidem vero etc. (= Z. 454-459)

Ubi equidem ... (= Z. 498-500)

Bezeichnenderweise setzt das Tagebuch mit einer präzisen Datierung (= 27. Sept.) ein, und unmittelbar darauf folgt die Angabe des erreichten Zwischenzieles (*Hellespontum venimus*). Im Brief dagegen leitet Cyriacus seinen Reisebericht mit einer Partikel (*sed*) ein, um die Sätze logisch enger miteinander zu verknüpfen, und das folgende Ortsadverb *inde* dient einer besseren sachlichen Orientierung; umgekehrt tritt an die Stelle jener genauen Zeitangabe eine rhetorische Umschreibung (*ternos per dies noctesque*). Am charakteristischsten für den vorliegenden Briefstil ist es indes, daß Cyriacus zwischen *sed inde* und dem Hauptsatz *Hellespontum navigavimus*, dem im Tagebuch *Hellespontum venimus* entspricht, einen temporalen Nebensatz (*postquam ... sulcavimus*) eingeschoben und im Hauptsatz einen Ablativus absolutus (*Caecaeis Boreisque aspirantibus Aeoliis*) hinzugefügt hat. Beide Ergänzungen weisen für den Brief typische Merkmale auf.

Der Ausdruck *placidi Neptuni liquidum sulcavimus campum* erinnert zwar an Stellen wie Verg., *Aen.* 5,158 (*longa sulcant vada salsa carina*), *Aen.* 10,197 (*longa sulcat maria alta carina*) und 214 (*campos salis aere secabant*) oder Ov., *Met.* 4,706 (*navis ... sulcat aquas*). Aber die metaphorische Verwendung des Verbs *sulcare* (= 'durchschiffen') in Verbindung mit der Junktur *campus liquidus Neptuni placidi* (= 'ruhiges

Meer') scheint eine sprachliche Neuschöpfung des Cyriacus zu sein, ist jedenfalls besonders effektiv: Die Wahl der Worte, ihre Stellung und der dadurch erzeugte Prosarhythmus<sup>11</sup> vermitteln in poetischer Weise den Eindruck friedlicher und geradezu bukolischer Stimmung auf dem Meer, das Cyriacus durchquerte.

Untermalt wird diese dichterische Schilderung durch den Hinweis darauf, daß sanfte Winde die Fahrt über das glatte Meer begleiteten: *Caeceis Boreisque aspirantibus Aeoliis*. Aufschlußreich ist dabei die Formulierung des Cyriacus. Denn auch im Tagebuch hatte er eine ähnliche Wendung benutzt, aber an späterer Stelle und in verkürzter Form: *Boreis secundantibus crebris* (Z. 438/9). Diese Junktur übernimmt Cyriacus im Brief, verteilt sie aber auf zwei Stellen: die hier vorliegende (Z. 478) und Z. 485 (*secundis crebrescentibus auris*). Im ersten Falle erweitert also Cyriacus seine Vorlage, indem er *Caeceis* und *Aeoliis* hinzufügt und das farblose *crebrescentibus* durch das anschaulichere *aspirantibus* ersetzt. Im zweiten Falle dagegen stellt er lediglich das Partizip (*secundantibus*) und das Adjektiv (*crebris*) gegenseitig um und gewinnt somit das Adjektiv *secundis* und das Partizip *crebrescentibus*; das Substantiv, auf das sich die Junktur *secundantibus crebris* im Tagebuch bezieht (die Spezialangabe *Boreis*), ersetzt er durch die allgemeine Bezeichnung *auris*. Dieses Verfahren ist symptomatisch für die 'Arbeitsweise' des Cyriacus im gesamten Brief: Variation und Amplifikation gegenüber den entsprechenden Passagen im Tagebuch.

Am deutlichsten zeigen diese Eigenart des Briefes freilich die Superlative. So erhebt Cyriacus die Flotte, von der er im Tagebuch sprach (Z. 436), im Brief zu einer *christianissima classis* (Z. 480): Der Superlativ verdrängt—zugunsten einer extrem positiven Bewertung in christlichem Sinne—die präzise Angabe der Schiffszahl (*XII navium*). Hatte Cyriacus im Tagebuch Alexius Disypatus einfach als *praefectus* tituliert, fügt er im Brief den ethischen Superlativ *optimus* hinzu (Z. 481) und überträgt denselben Superlativ außerdem auch auf L. Lauredanus (Z. 483). Zur Charakteristik des Historikers Michael Critobulus wählte Cyriacus im Tagebuch zwei Positive (Z. 446: *docto et Imbriote nobili*). Im Brief dagegen werden daraus—ebenfalls zwecks höchster Steigerung—zwei

<sup>11</sup> Besonderer Nachdruck liegt—dank ihrer jeweils vorgezogenen Stellung—auf den Adjektiven *placidi* und *liquidum*. Stellt man die Wortfolge *placidi Neptuni* um, ergibt sich fast ein vollständiger daktylischer Hexameter (*Neptuni placidi liquidum sulcavimus*); Cyriacus vermeidet ihn jedoch auch dadurch, daß er mit *sulcavimus campum* eine typische Klausel des klassischen Prosarhythmus wählt (Creticus + Trochäus).

Superlative: *tuo cum amicissimo viro et Imbriotum doctissimo*. Die letzte Prädikation weist offenbar auf Cyriacus' Anrede des Briefadressaten zurück: Bezeichnete Cyriacus vorher Georgios Scholarios als *Graecorum doctissimus*, so apostrophiert er jetzt Critobulus als *Imbriotum doctissimus*; als 'gelehrtester Mann auf Imbros' nimmt demnach Critobulus partiell den gleichen extrem hohen Rang ein wie Georgios Scholarios als 'gelehrtester aller Griechen': Critobulus fungiert gewissermaßen als 'Scholarios en miniature'. Umgekehrt verwendet Cyriacus im Tagebuch den Superlativ *vetustissimam* (Z. 448), im Brief dagegen nur den Positiv *vetustam* (Z. 495), fügt dabei aber einige Merkmale der Stadt, die er beschreibt, hinzu.

Im übrigen jedoch enthält der Brief kaum mehr Detailangaben als das Tagebuch<sup>12</sup>: In der Regel handelt es sich nur um rhetorische bzw. poetisch gefärbte Erweiterungen<sup>13</sup> oder dagegen um sachliche Verkürzungen<sup>14</sup> gegenüber dem Tagebuch. Als Ergebnis dieses gleichmäßigen Additions- und Subtraktionsverfahrens weist der Brief an G. Scholarios genau denselben Umfang auf wie der analoge Bericht im Tagebuch des Cyriacus.

Typisch für Cyriacus' Methode der Erweiterung im Brief an G. Scholarios ist es, daß er abschließend feierlich göttlichen Beistand für seine nächste Reise herbeiwünscht und dabei folgende Formel benutzt: *optimo iuvante Deo ipso, Ποσειδῶνος et Nereidum clarissima favitante*

<sup>12</sup> Allenfalls der Satz *Ubi ... hoc breve epigramma ... ponendum curavimus* (Z., 498-500) ist als Zusatzinformation anzusehen, die im Tagebuch kein Gegenstück hat, wenn man das erwähnte Epigramm nicht mit der Inschrift auf Z. 498/9 identifizieren will; vgl. dazu Bodnar-Mitchell S. 63 Anm. 57.

<sup>13</sup> Zu dieser Kategorie gehören der Reihe nach (a) die den Namen des L. Lauredanus gleichsam umrankenden zusätzlichen Attribute (Z. 481-3); (b) der emphatische Zusatz *eodem et fausto V. K. Octobrium sereno Cyriaceoque die* (Z. 484/5), der darauf hinweist, daß es sich hierbei um einen strahlend schönen Sonntag handelte; (c) die auf einen entsprechenden Gemütszustandweisende Randbemerkung *superavimus laeti* (Z. 486); (c) der antikisierende poetische Zusatz *oceanò cadente Phoebo* (Z. 489); (e) der Einschub *Threiciamque Samon, quae et nunc Samothracia fertur* (Z. 491/2) anspielt, durch die Hinzufügung von *et* also auf die Aktualität der von Vergil, *Aen.* 7, 208, bezeugten Namengebung *Samothrace* aufmerksam macht; (f) die Erweiterung *scrupeos arduosque per colles* (Z. 495) gegenüber *arduus per colles* im Tagebuch (Z. 449); (g) die gehobenen Zusätze *iussu regio* (Z. 497) und *exornatam* (Z. 498); (h) die Ausblicke auf zukünftige Reiseziele (Z. 490/2 und 500/01).

<sup>14</sup> So faßt Cyriacus die detaillierten topographischen Erläuterungen der beiden Oberbegriffe *Europae littora* und *Asiae* sc. *littora* im Tagebuch (Z. 440-4)—er nennt dort jeweils 5 'europäische' und 'asiatische' Ortsnamen—im Brief pauschal zusammen, indem er sich dort auf die generelle Bezeichnung *Hellespontiaca Europae atque Asiae littora* (Z. 486/7) beschränkt.

*placidissima Cymodocea*. Mit *Deo ipso* ist natürlich der Gott des Christentums gemeint. Aber Cyriacus versieht ihn mit zwei Epitheta, die er sonst traditionsgemäß Jupiter, dem obersten Gott des antiken Pantheons, beilegt: Es genügt hier ein Hinweis auf die Junktur *iuuante deo Ioue* am Ende des Briefes an R. Castiglione (Z. 393)<sup>15</sup> und *optimi maximique Iovis* im Epigramm auf F. Gatalusius (Z. 1069/70). Die vom christlichen Standpunkt aus ambivalente Kombination *optimo iuuante Deo ipso* ist charakteristisch für Cyriacus' religiösen Synkretismus<sup>16</sup>. Zwar fehlt im vorliegenden Brief—anders als in einem folgenden<sup>17</sup>—ein Hinweis auf Merkur als den persönlichen Schutzgott des Cyriacus. Aber bezeichnenderweise folgt auf *optimo iuuante Deo ipso* der Name eines anderen antiken Gottes: Poseidon, den Cyriacus bereits zweimal kurz vorher (Z. 477 und 501)—freilich mit seinem lateinischen Namen *Neptunus*—apostrophiert hatte.

Zu Ποσειδῶνος ist aus grammatischen Gründen der Genitiv eines Verbs zu ergänzen, das dem folgenden Ablativus absolutus *favitante Cymodocea* entspricht. Die Ellipse einer Partizipialform wie βοηθοῦντος ist jedoch kaum etwa auf Nachlässigkeit des Cyriacus zurückzuführen, sondern beruht wohl auf Absicht: Cyriacus verknüpft—typisch für seinen sprachlichen Synkretismus—einen griechischen Genitivus absolutus mit einem lateinischen Ablativus absolutus. Eine Verbindung griechischer und römischer Elemente kommt auch darin zum Ausdruck, daß Cyriacus neben Poseidon/Neptun nur die Meernymphe Cymodocea, und zwar als die 'berühmteste' der so zahlreichen Nereiden<sup>18</sup>, auftreten läßt. Denn sicherlich spielt Cyriacus mit der Formulierung *Nereidum clarissima favitante placidissima Cymodocea* auf Verg., *Aen.* 10,219 ff. an, wo Cymodocea als Nymphe im Gefolge des Aeneas eine zentrale Rolle spielt; als Vorbild für Cyriacus kommen vor allem die V. 225-7 in Betracht:

quarum quae fandi doctissima Cymodocea  
pone sequens dextra puppim tenet ipsaque dorso  
eminet ac laeva tacitis subremigat undis.

<sup>15</sup> Vgl. dazu Cyr. I 64/5.

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. dazu besonders Cyr. I 66-68.

<sup>17</sup> *Mercurius ipse noster vela secundis impleverat ventis* (Z. 1119/20) im Brief an Johannes Pedemontanus vom Januar 1445.

<sup>18</sup> Zu den Nereiden insgesamt sowie zu Cyriacus' repräsentativer Auswahl von 8 Nereiden vgl. u. S. 64 zu Z. 1120-27.

Wie Vergil verbindet auch Cyriacus den Namen der Cymodocea in höchst positivem Sinne mit dem Superlativ eines Adjektivs (*clarissima* ~ *doctissima*), von dem jeweils ein partitiver Genitiv abhängt (*Nereidum* ~ *quarum* bzw. *nympharum*). Das gleiche Verfahren wandte Cyriacus rund drei Monate später im Brief an J. Pedemontanus an: *natante ac alto ab aequore modulante meque interdum osculis dulciter perorando nympharum omnium praeclarissima Cymodocea* (Z. 1124-6); denn *me ... perorando nympharum omnium praeclarissima Cymodocea* entspricht evident *Nereidum clarissima favitante placidissima Cymodocea* hier in Z. 503. Aber in Z. 1124-6 geht Cyriacus mehrere Schritte weiter, indem er (a) *clarissima* zu *praeclarissima* steigert, *Nereidum* zu *nympharum omnium* erweitert und (b) *favitante* durch Verbformen ersetzt, die diese allgemeine Angabe im einzelnen anschaulich erläutern. Diese Abweichungen sind offenbar darauf zurückzuführen, daß Cyriacus die Briefe an ganz verschiedene Persönlichkeiten richtete. Zwar hielt er beide Briefadressaten anscheinend für so gebildet, daß er ihnen ohne weiteres zutraute, seine literarischen Anspielungen auf Vergil (oder andere antike Autoren) jeweils zu verstehen. Denn in beiden Briefen vermeidet es Cyriacus, den Namen Vergils oder eines anderen antiken Dichters bzw. Prosaschriftstellers zu nennen, obwohl die Anklänge gerade an Vergil ganz offenkundig sind. Aber der Name Vergils fehlt auch in fast allen übrigen Texten des vorliegenden Reiseberichtes: Charakteristischerweise weist Cyriacus nur in zwei Tagebuchberichten ausdrücklich auf Vergil als einen seiner Lieblingsautoren, und zwar jeweils mit der Paraphrase *Maro noster* (Z. 519 und 632).

Die Gründe für die graduellen Unterschiede der Vergilrezeption in den Briefen an G. Scholarios und J. Pedemontanus müssen also in diesen Personen selbst liegen. Auszugehen ist von Cyriacus' Anrede des G. Scholarios am Anfang des Briefes. Es kann kein Zufall sein, daß Cyriacus diesen Brief mit der lapidaren Charakteristik des Adressaten als *Graecorum doctissimus* beginnt und mit dem prägnanten Hinweis auf Cymodocea als *Nereidum clarissima* beendet. Offenbar sind beide Angaben aufeinander abgestimmt. Denn während Cyriacus im Brief an J. Pedemontanus Cymodocea viel mehr Wesenszüge zuschreibt, beschränkt er sich am Schluß des Briefes an Georgios Scholarios auf die Angabe eines einzigen Merkmales. Dabei ist die Implikation zu beachten, die sich aus dem Anklang an Cymodocea als die 'gelehrteste' bzw. 'redegewandteste' Nymphe bei Vergil (~ *quarum fandi doctissima*) ergibt: Indem Cyriacus Cymodocea als *Nereidum clarissima* bezeichnet, unterstellt er,



daß Georgios Scholarios sie sofort mit Cymodocea als *Nympharum fandi doctissima* identifiziert. Diese Gleichsetzung entspricht demnach Cyriacus' Anrede des Scholarios als *Graecorum doctissimus* und folglich auch der Charakteristik des Michael Critobulus als *Imbrorum doctissimus* (Z. 493). So präsentiert Cyriacus im vorliegenden Brief gewissermaßen ein Triptychon höchster Gelehrsamkeit: An Anfang steht Georgios Scholarios als *Graecorum doctissimus*, in der Mitte Michael Critobulus als *Imbriotum doctissimus*, am Ende Cymodocea als *nympharum doctissima* (sc. *fandi*). Allein schon diese drei engen Beziehungen innerhalb des Textes weisen auf die kunstvolle Gesamtkomposition des Briefes.

Betrachtet man nun abschließend das Verhältnis dieses Briefes des Cyriacus zu seinem unmittelbar vorhergehenden Tagebuchbericht über dasselbe Thema, so ist generell an einen locus classicus der lateinischen Rhetorik zu erinnern. In Ciceros rhetorischem Hauptwerk, dem Dialog *De oratore*, faßt Crassus als der Gesprächsführer einen zentralen Teil seiner Erörterung zusammen, indem er mit besonderem Nachdruck hervorhebt (*de orat.* 3,103/5):

Quare, ut ante dixi, primum silva rerum ac sententiarum comparanda est, qua de parte dixit Antonius. Haec formanda filo ipso et genere orationis, illuminanda verbis, varianda sententiis. Summa autem laus eloquentiae est amplificare rem ornando, quod valet non solum ad augendum aliquid et tollendum altius dicendo, sed etiam ad extenuandum atque abiciendum. ... Sed ... amplificatio potest plurimum, eaque una laus oratoris est et propria maxime.

Dabei ist zu beachten, daß Cicero bereits im Mittelalter—wie vor kurzem W. Rüegg in einem lehrreichen Beitrag mit der charakteristischen Überschrift "Cicero—orator noster"<sup>19</sup> dargelegt hat—als der eigentliche Vertreter, ja als Verkörperung der Rhetorik und damit als 'König der Beredsamkeit' (*rex eloquentiae*) galt<sup>20</sup>; bezeichnenderweise sind alle rhetorischen Schriften Ciceros im Mittelalter erhalten geblieben. Auf das Zeitalter der Renaissance und des Humanismus übte Cicero indes noch viel stärkeren Einfluß aus: In dieser Epoche nahm bekanntlich das Corpus Ciceronianum insgesamt sogar eine zentrale Stellung ein;

<sup>19</sup> In: *Éloquence et Rhétorique chez Cicéron*. Entretiens sur l'Antiquité Classique, T. 28 (Vandoeuvres-Genf 1982), Ss. 274-319. Vgl. dazu jetzt A. Buck, in *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance-Mitteilungen*, 7 (1983), 103/4.

<sup>20</sup> Vgl. den Abschnitt "Mittelalterliche Traditionen der ciceronianischen Rhetorik" bei Rüegg, Ss. 279-286.

haben sich z.B. für das 9., das 12. und 13./14. Jahrhundert jeweils die Bezeichnung *aetas Vergiliana*, *aetas Ovidiana* und *aetas Aristoteliana* eingebürgert<sup>21</sup>, so kennzeichnete daher E. Gilson das 15./16. Jahrhundert treffend als 'Zeitalter Ciceros', als *aetas Ciceroniana*<sup>22</sup>. Die Wende vom Mittelalter zu dieser *aetas Ciceroniana* vollzog in entscheidendem Maße ein Humanist, der rund 30 Jahre älter war als Cyriacus von Ancona: Gasparino von Barzizza (1360-1431), der eigentliche Apostel des Ciceronianismus und Begründer vor allem des ciceronianischen Briefstils<sup>23</sup>. Die hier zitierte Schlüsselstelle in Ciceros Schrift *De oratore* (3,103/5) läßt sich daher ohne weiteres zur Interpretation der vorliegenden beiden Cyriacus-Texte heranziehen.

Erste Hauptaufgabe des Rhetors ist es nach Cicero, sich eine möglichst umfangreiche Stoffsammlung gewissermaßen als gedankliches Baumaterial seiner Rede anzulegen (*~ primum silva rerum ac sententiarum comparanda*). Diese Forderung entspricht prinzipiell dem ersten der insgesamt fünf klassischen Arbeitsstadien des Redners nach dem System der antiken Rhetorik<sup>24</sup>: der *inventio*, der Auffindung der Hauptgesichtspunkte. Die Tagebuchnotizen des Cyriacus vom 28. Sept. 1444 erfüllen nun im Hinblick auf seinen am nächsten Tag verfaßten Brief an G. Scholarios die gleiche Funktion wie der erste Arbeitsgang des Redners nach Theorie und Praxis der antiken Rhetorik: Ganz im Sinne des Terminus technicus *inventio* sowie der metaphorischen Verwendung des Begriffes *silva* (sc. *rerum ac sententiarum*) bei Cicero<sup>25</sup> enthält der private Tagebuchbericht des Cyriacus über seine Reise vom 20. bis 28. Sept. 1444 das gesamte Material bzw. den Informationsstoff seines unmittelbar folgenden Briefes an G. Scholarios; denn nicht nur die Hauptaspekte dieses Briefes, sondern auch fast alle Details, die er dort mitteilt, lassen sich auf jene Materialsammlung im Tagebuch zurückführen. Die betreffenden Eintragungen im Tagebuch bilden somit gleichsam die *silva* der Schilderung im Brief des Cyriacus.

Der zweite Arbeitsgang des Redners, die Gliederung des Stoffes (*dispositio*), mußte nun Cyriacus im vorliegenden Brief insofern leicht

<sup>21</sup> Belege bei Rüegg, S. 279 und 312.

<sup>22</sup> Erläuterungen zu diesem Begriff im Abschnitt «Die Aetas Ciceroniana» bei Rüegg, Ss. 286-293.

<sup>23</sup> Vgl. Rüegg, S. 283/4 (mit neuer Literatur).

<sup>24</sup> Guter Überblick im Art. "Rhetorik" des *Lexikons der Alten Welt*, (München-Zürich, 1965).

<sup>25</sup> Kernstellen seines rhetorischen Gebrauchs des Begriffes *silva* sind neben *de orat.* 3,103/5 auch *inv.* 1,39 sowie *Or.* 12 und 139.

fallen, als er sich im Tagebuch streng an die chronologische Reihenfolge gehalten hatte: Der Tagebuchbericht vom 28. Sept. 1444 bietet nicht das Bild einer ungeordneten und disparaten Masse, wie es bei einer *silva* dieser Art sonst anscheinend oft der Fall war<sup>26</sup>, sondern eines zwar literarisch anspruchslosen, aber doch von Punkt zu Punkt fortschreitenden minuziösen Reports. Da das 4. und 5. Arbeitsstadium des Redners—'Memorieren' (*memoria*) und 'Vortrag' (*actio/pronuntiatio*)—in einem Brief ohnehin wegfallen, brauchte also Cyriacus im vorliegenden Brief nur die *silva*, wie er sie im Tagebuch schon bereitgestellt hatte, nach Maßgabe der *elocutio*, des dritten und wichtigsten Arbeitsganges des Redners, sprachlich-stilistisch auszuarbeiten.

Die Art und Weise, wie Cyriacus diese Hauptaufgabe löste, entspricht nun genau Ciceros rhetorischen Vorschriften in *de orat.* 3,103/5<sup>27</sup>. Denn im Gegensatz zu jenen formal unzureichenden Tagebuchaufzeichnungen, welche als bloße Aufhäufung und schmucklose Aneinanderreihung von Daten und Fakten die niedrigsten Stilebene widerspiegeln, richten sich Wortgebrauch, Syntax und Stil des Briefes an Georgios Scholarios—ganz im Sinne der *Maxime haec* (sc. *silva rerum*) *formanda filo ipso et genere orationis, illuminanda verbis, varianda sententiis* bei Cicero<sup>28</sup>—nach den klassischen Normen der antiken Lehre vom kunstvollen Prosastil. So verleiht Cyriacus sowohl durch die Wahl gehobener und z.T. poetischer Wörter (~ *illuminanda verbis*) als auch durch mannigfaltige Variationen der zugrundeliegenden Motive (~ *varianda sententiis*) seiner Darstellung Farbe und Glanz; die Ausformung jedes Satzes läßt die rhetorischen Hilfsmittel erkennen, die Cyriacus in diesem Brief benutzt, um seine Ausführungen sozusagen nach allen Regeln der lateinischen Stilkunst zu 'feilen' und somit aufs eindrucksvollste zu gestalten (~ *formanda filo ipso et genere orationis*).

Der Schwerpunkt liegt dabei—ebenfalls gemäß den Anweisungen bei Cicero—auf der Ausschmückung des Themas durch *amplificare* bzw. *amplificatio*. Denn gerade darin sieht ja Cicero in *de orat.* 3,103/5 den größten Vorzug der Beredsamkeit (~ *Summa autem laus eloquentiae est amplificare rem ornando*), folglich auch das höchste Leistungsvermögen

<sup>26</sup> Vgl. z.B. Cic., *inv.* 1,39 (... *quandam silvam atque materiam universam ante permixtim et confuse exponere omnium argumentationum, post autem tradere* ...) und Quint. 10,3,17.

<sup>27</sup> Literatur dazu in der *De oratore*-Ausgabe von K. Kumaniecki (Leipzig, Teubner, 1969), S. 301.

<sup>28</sup> Typisch z.B. auch seine Forderung in *Or.* 139: *Hoc in genere—nam quasi silvam vides—omnis eluceat oportet eloquentiae magnitudo.*

und somit das charakteristischste Merkmal des erfolgreichen Redners (*~ amplificatio potest plurimum, eaque una laus oratoris est et propria maxime*). Nun bezeichnet dabei *amplificare/amplificatio* als rhetorischer Terminus technicus das Verfahren, einen Gegenstand 'zu seinem Vor- und Nachteil stärker hervorzuheben, in ein helleres Licht zu setzen, zu vergrößern und zu steigern'<sup>29</sup>. Es sind hier nämlich zwei entgegengesetzte, jedoch gleichwertige Erscheinungsformen des 'Amplifizierens' zu unterscheiden (*~ quod valet non solum ad augendum aliquid et tollendum altius dicendo, sed etiam ad extenuandum atque abiciendum*): ein positiver Aspekt, welchen Cicero durch die Synonyma *augere* ('steigern') und *tollere altius* ('stärker hervorheben') verdeutlicht, und eine negative Seite, die Cicero ebenso anschaulich mit der Junktur *extenuare* und *abicere* ('verkleinern und abschwächen bzw. weglassen') umschreibt. Aus dieser Ambivalenz des Leitmotivs *amplificare/amplificatio*<sup>30</sup> erklärt es sich, daß Cyriacus in seinem Brief an G. Scholarios, um seine Darstellung gegenüber jener einfachen Aufzählung im Tagebuch so weit wie möglich zu 'amplifizieren', ein doppeltes Verfahren anwandte: (a) Einerseits hebt Cyriacus bestimmte Details des Tagebuchs, auf die es ihm besonders ankommt, mit den vielfältigsten Mitteln stärker hervor; kräftigstes Ausdrucksmittel solcher Steigerungen sind daher im Brief die zahlreichen Superlative sowie verschiedene andere Formen rhetorisch-poetischer Erweiterungen. (b) Andererseits verkürzt Cyriacus im Brief zugleich manche Angaben seines Tagebuchs, andere schiebt er beiseite oder streicht sie ganz. Dank dieser 'negativen' Methode der Steigerung, welche den Verben *extenuare* und *abicere* bei Cicero entspricht, treten die für Cyriacus wichtigsten Fakten im Brief um so klarer und eindringlicher hervor.

Die Veränderungen, die Cyriacus dabei vornahm, um die sachlich jeweils fast völlig übereinstimmenden Aussagen des Tagebuchs unter rhetorischen Gesichtspunkten sprachlich-stilistisch abzuwandeln und wesentlich zu verbessern, orientieren sich folglich an den Maßstäben, wie

<sup>29</sup> So die treffende Definition im Standardlexikon von Georges. Vgl. z.B. auch den Abschnitt "Amplificatio" bei K. Barwick, *Das rednerische Bildungsideal Ciceros* (Berlin, 1963), Ss. 49-52.

<sup>30</sup> Nur am Rande sei bemerkt, daß die *amplificatio* z.B. auch in Ciceros so umfangreichen Verrinen das wirkungsvollste rhetorische Mittel bildet, Cicero diese Technik jedoch im ganzen Werk beharrlich verleugnet, obwohl oder vielmehr gerade weil er sie dort durchgehend übt. Vgl. M. von Albrecht, "Cicero und die Götter Siziliens", *Ciceroniana*, N.S. 4 (1980), 53-62 (S. 61).

sie Cicero in *de orat.* 3,103/5 festlegte. Außerdem verraten Phraseologie und literarische Motive, die Cyriacus hier verwendet, wiederum den Einfluß vor allem der Aeneis Vergils, mit der Cyriacus schon seit frühester Zeit bestens vertraut war<sup>31</sup>. Cyriacus' Brief an G. Scholarios, der im übrigen nicht nur als 'gelehrtester Grieche' die byzantinische Geisteswelt, sondern als guter Kenner der scholastischen Theologie auch die *aetas Aristoteliana* repräsentiert, vereinigt mithin die Stilrichtungen zweier Epochen, deren Blütezeiten weit auseinanderliegen<sup>32</sup>: die *aetas Vergiliana* und die *aetas Ciceroniana*. Auch in dieser Synthese offenbart sich der eigentümliche synkretistische Grundzug des Werkes und der Persönlichkeit des Cyriacus.

N.

471 *Scholario*:

Der bibliographische Hinweis zu Georgios Scholarios, dem späteren Patriarchen Gennadios (1454-56, ca. 1462-65), ist völlig unzureichend<sup>1</sup>.

1. Vgl. etwa H.-G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (München, 1959), Ss. 760-763. Neueste Monographie: Th. Zeses, Γεννάδιος Β' Σχολάριος, Βίος—συγγράμματα—διδασκαλία (Thessalonike, 1980).

T.

489 *oceano cadente Phoebo*:

*oceano* ist Dativ des Zieles, der nicht selten von Dichtern verwendet wird<sup>1</sup>. Vgl. z.B. Vergil, *Aen.* V 451 "it clamor caelo" oder II 36 f. "pelago Danaum insidias suspectaque dona praecipitare iubent".

1. R. Kühner-C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lat. Sprache II* (Darmstadt, 1966), S. 320.

T.

499 *hoc breve epigramma antiquis nostro et Attico de more litteris ponendum curavimus*:

Die Herausgeber führen dazu<sup>1</sup> an, es könne sich um die früher

<sup>31</sup> Vgl. z.B. den Brief des F. Filelfo an Cyriacus vom 21. 12. 1427; Text jetzt bei V. R. Giustiniani, "Il Filelfo, l'interpretazione allegorica di Virgilio e la tripartizione platonica dell'anima", in *Umanesimo e Rinascimento, Studi offerti a P.O. Kristeller ...* (Florenz 1980), 33-44 (Ss. 37-42). Generell dazu jetzt: *Vergil-Jahrbuch 1982 = Würzb. Jahrb. für die Altertumswiss.*, N. F. 8 (1982), besonders Ss. 105-127.

<sup>32</sup> Zur Abgrenzung dieser Zeitalter vgl. Rüegg (s.o. S. 31).

genannte griechische Inschrift (468 f.) handeln. Gemeint ist aber wohl eine von Ciriaco selbst für Manuel Asanes verfaßte Inschrift<sup>2</sup>, so wie er ja allem Anschein nach auch eine für Francesco III. Gattilusio (vgl. Z. 674-680 mit Anm. 90) geschrieben hat. Auf jeden Fall ist hier eine zweisprachige Inschrift (griech.-lat.) anzunehmen, wenn wir den Ausdruck "antiquis nostro et Attico de more litteris" mit "Graecis ac etiam nostratum litteris epigrammata" (553) vergleichen. Ein andermal sagt Ciriaco einfach "Latinis Graecisque litteris epigrammata" (24).

1. S. 63, A. 57; vgl. auch A. 60, wo die im folgenden Brieffragment erwähnte Inschrift ebenfalls damit gleichgesetzt wird. Auf letztere geht Ciriaco jedoch mit ganz anderen Worten ein ("Caesaream ... conspexi"), weshalb anzunehmen ist, daß es sich wieder um eine andere handelt. Im übrigen ist ja auch der Schluß der beiden Briefe weitgehend verschieden.
2. Vgl. die Fragmente zweier Inschriften bei C. Fredrich, "Imbros". *Mitteil. des deutschen archäol. Inst. Athen* 33 (1908) 91 f.: ... Μανουήλ μάλα πίνυτος ἀνὴρ σὺν γα(μετῇ) ... ἡμετέρῳ τῷδε φρουρίῳ ἐὼν μνημ' ἀνέθηκε (nicht recht geglückte Hexameter?) und καὶ πύργον τόνδ' ἡμιτέλεστον πρὶν ὄντα Ἀσὰν τελειοῖ κλεινὸς τηλεκλυτός τε.

T.

505-514 (Fragment eines Briefes an einen unbekannten Adressaten vom 29. Sept. 1444)

Von diesem Brief an einen Anonymus, den Cyriacus einfach mit *vir bone* anredet, ist zwar nur der Schlußteil erhalten. Aber auch wenn z.B. das Datum am Ende des Briefes nicht überliefert wäre, müßte man folgern, daß er am selben Tag wie der vorhergehende Brief, also am 29. Sept. 1444, verfaßt wurde. Denn Cyriacus' Mitteilung an den Unbekannten, am nächsten Tag werde er nach Samothrace weiterreisen (Z. 508/9: *Vale et me ad cras Samon Threiciam, antiquam Neptuni sedem, navigaturum scito*), stimmt fast wörtlich mit der betreffenden Ankündigung im Brief an G. Scholarios überein: *Vale et me ad cras exiguum per cymbam Neptuneam Samon navigaturum habeto* (Z. 500/02).

Allerdings sind die geringfügigen Abweichungen bezeichnend für das Bemühen des Cyriacus, gemäß dem Postulat der Brieftheorie sich dem Bildungsniveau des jeweiligen Briefempfängers anzupassen. So läßt schon der apodiktische Imperativ II *scito* ('wisse') anstatt des zurückhaltenderen Ausdrucks *habeto* erkennen, daß der unbekannte Adressat nicht den gleichen Rang einnimmt wie G. Scholarios als *Graecorum doctissimus*, sondern in besonderem Maße der Belehrung bedarf. Tatsächlich beschränkt sich Cyriacus im Brief an G. Scholarios, um sein

nächstes Reiseziel anzugeben, auf die gelehrte Paraphrase *Neptuneam Samon*, setzt also voraus, daß G. Scholarios weiß, welche Gegend mit dieser prägnanten Umschreibung gemeint ist: die dem Meergott Poseidon/Neptun geweihte Insel Samothrake. In seinem Schreiben an den Anonymus dagegen tritt Cyriacus wie ein Lehrer gegenüber einem Schüler auf. Denn er zerlegt den Ortsnamen *Samothrace* in seine beiden etymologischen Bestandteile, indem er das Substantiv *Samos* mit dem Adjektiv *Threicia* verbindet, und fügt der Junktur *Samon Threiciam* auch noch mit Nachdruck die Apposition *antiquam Neptuni sedem* hinzu, um so geradezu lehrbuchmäßig auf Samothrake als 'Neptuns alten Sitz' hinzuweisen. Der 'gute Mann', den Cyriacus hier belehrt, hatte demnach zwar allgemein Interesse an der Antike, wußte aber relativ wenig von den antiken Realien.

Wohl aus dem gleichen Grunde verzichtet hier Cyriacus—im Gegensatz zum Brief an G. Scholarios—auf den Zusatz *exiguam per cymbam*. Ein solches Detail war hier nämlich an sich entbehrlich, da *navigaturum* in beiden Sätzen ohnehin impliziert, daß Cyriacus auf einem Schiff fahren werde. Die spezielle Bemerkung, er werde 'einen kleinen Kahn' (*exigua cymba*) benutzen, erfüllt daher in Cyriacus' Brief an G. Scholarios offenbar die Funktion, seine unmittelbar folgende Anspielung auf Vergils Schilderung der Begegnung des Aeneas mit der Nymphe Cymodocea auf dem Meer vorzubereiten. Im Brief an den Unbekannten hingegen fehlt dieser literarische Anklang, da der Adressat den entsprechenden Bildungsgrad anscheinend nicht besaß.

In die gleiche Richtung weist schon der Anfang des vorliegenden Brieffragments. Denn alle Elemente des Relativsatzes *quem iussu regio novam inibi arcem condidisse comperimus* (Z. 505/6) lassen sich auf *ubi Manuelem Asanium novam quamvis ἀκρόπολιν iussu regio arcem turritam condidisse et exornatam comperimus* im Brief an G. Scholarios (Z. 497/8) zurückführen. Aber Cyriacus kürzt diesen Passus im Brief an den Anonymus, indem er drei Einzelheiten, die er G. Scholarios mitgeteilt hatte, wegläßt: *quamvis ἀκρόπολιν*, *turritam* und *ornatam*. Dabei handelt es sich also ausgerechnet um diejenigen Details, die vom antiquarischen Standpunkt aus betrachtet von besonderem Interesse sind. Cyriacus übergibt sie im Brief an den Anonymus, weil er wohl annahm, daß dieser für solche zusätzlichen wissenschaftlichen Informationen weniger Verständnis hatte.

Anders verhält es sich mit der folgenden Notiz: *Ubi primum praetorianam ad aulam, bona pro nostri iucundissimi itineris ave, Caesaream hanc*

*inscriptionem marmoreo in lapide conspeximus* (Z. 506/8). Hier teilt Cyriacus dem Anonymus offensichtlich ein originelles Detail mit, nämlich die Auffindung einer wertvollen Inschrift<sup>1</sup>. Aber mit diesem Hinweis wollte Cyriacus schwerlich in erster Linie wissenschaftliche Ansprüche des anonymen Adressaten seines Briefes zufriedenstellen: Wie der emphatische Einschub *bona pro nostri iucundissimi itineris ave* zeigt, erwähnte Cyriacus jene Inschrift wohl hauptsächlich deshalb, weil sie als günstiges Vorzeichen für einen sehr glücklichen Verlauf seiner Reise aufzufassen war. Daraus läßt sich zweierlei schließen: (a) Der Anonymus hatte ebenso wie Cyriacus selbst<sup>2</sup> eine Vorliebe für einen bestimmten Aspekt der antiken Religion, der aus christlicher Sicht besonders verwerflich war, nämlich die Ausdeutung der Zukunft durch Vogelschau (*auspicia*). (b) Zwischen Cyriacus und dem Anonymus bestanden trotz äußeren Rangunterschieden freundschaftliche Beziehungen, so daß es für Cyriacus nahelag, ihm erfreuliche Begleitumstände seiner Reise mitzuteilen.

Aus diesem Nahverhältnis zum Adressaten seines Briefes erklärt sich auch Cyriacus' letzter Satz: *Tu interim, vir bone, Legatum optimum nostrum praedigne facito memorem et sanctam illam Parthicam expeditionem, quam apud eum et alios iam diu tam sollertissime favitare atque iuvare coepisti, ad exoptatum perducere finem die noctuque curabis*. Zwar macht hier die Anrede *vir bone* die untergeordnete Stellung des Anonymus besonders fühlbar; denn unmittelbar darauf folgt der Superlativ *optimus* als Epitheton des Kardinals G. Cesarini<sup>3</sup>, und Cyriacus apostrophiert diesen zugleich als einen seiner engsten Bekannten. Aber gerade an ihn läßt Cyriacus durch den Anonymus eine Botschaft überbringen (... *facito memorem*) und stellt beide insofern auf die gleiche Stufe, als er ihre gemeinsame Unterstützung des Kreuzzugs gegen die Türken<sup>4</sup> nachdrücklich billigt. Daher schließt Cyriacus seinen Brief an den Unbekannten in feierlicher Form, indem er (a) anerkennend hervorhebt, daß dieser Mann begonnen habe, jenen Feldzug nach Kräften zu unterstützen (wobei die Junktur *favitare atque adiuvere* an den Schluß des Bittgebetes erinnert, das Cyriacus kurz vorher an Merkur gerichtet hatte<sup>5</sup>), und (b) ihn daher auffordert, alles zu tun, um den 'Heiligen Krieg' gegen die Türken<sup>6</sup> zu einem glücklichen Ende zu führen.

Das vorliegende Brieffragment bietet somit ein weiteres Beispiel für die Variationskunst des Cyriacus. Denn es gestattet trotz seiner Kürze den Rückschluß, daß Cyriacus dasselbe Thema, nämlich seine Reise vom 20. bis zum 28. Sept. 1444, am folgenden Tag in drei verschiedenen



Fassungen dargestellt hat: in einem privaten Tagebuchbericht sowie in den Briefen an G. Scholarios und den Anonymus.

1. Zur genaueren Bestimmung dieser Inschrift s.u.
2. Vgl. z.B. auch *bonis avibus* in Z. 1102.
3. Vgl. auch die doppelte Verwendung des Superlativs *optimus* im direkt vorhergehenden Brief an G. Scholarios (s.o. S. 27).
4. Vgl. dazu jetzt den neuen Beitrag von Bodnar (s.o. S. 22).
5. Z. 423/4: ... *favitare atque comitare velis*; vgl. Cyr. I 67.
6. Zur Umschreibung *sancta illa Parthica expeditio* s.u. zu Z. 511.

N.

#### 511 *Parthicam expeditionem*:

Denselben Ausdruck gebraucht Ciriaco auch in einem Brief an den Kaiser Johannes VIII. Palaiologos ebenfalls im Oktober 1444 (“ab externis Parthicae expeditionis trophaeis”)<sup>1</sup>. Es scheint, daß Ciriaco zu dieser archaisierenden Form (“Parthicus” für “Turcicus”) durch die Erinnerung an die Partherfeldzüge der Römer inspiriert wurde. Im Griechischen ist Πέρσαι für die Osmanen üblich; man vergleiche aber immerhin Laonikos Chalkokondyles (ed. Darkò) I 8,7 Ἐνιοὶ δὲ Πάρθων ἀπογόνους Τούρκους φασὶν εἶναι<sup>2</sup>.

1. Cyriaci Anconitani *epistolae*, in: A. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca latina* VI<sup>2</sup> (Florenz, 1859), S. 634.
2. G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* II (Berlin, 1958), S. 245 u. 252-254.

T.

#### 515-553 (Tagebuchbericht über den Besuch Samothrakes vom 2.-4. Okt. 1444)

Dieser Bericht, dessen archäologische Aspekte in der bisherigen Forschung vielfach erörtert worden sind<sup>1</sup>, steht unter sprachlich-stilistischen und literarischen Gesichtspunkten auf einem wesentlich höheren Niveau als die kurz vorhergehenden Tagebuchaufzeichnungen vom 28. Sept. (Z. 426-460). Hier seien nur folgende Feststellungen getroffen:

Die Schilderung besteht aus 6 relativ umfangreichen, nämlich im Durchschnitt rund 6 Zeilen umfassenden Sätzen. Die längste Periode, die in der Mitte steht (Z. 527-534), enthält zugleich auch die meisten Nebensätze. Bemerkenswert ist dabei, daß Cyriacus—entgegen der Norm der klassischen Latinität und auch im Unterschied zu seiner eigenen sonstigen Gewohnheit<sup>2</sup>—*postquam* mit dem Ind. Plusquampf. statt Pf. verbindet: *postquam perhumane susceperat* (Z. 531). Diese Abweichung von der Regel erklärt sich jedoch leicht aus der Struktur des Satzgefüges. Denn vor *susceperat* hatte Cyriacus zweimal das konstatie-

rende Perfekt (Z. 529: *venimus*; Z. 531: *comperi*) verwendet, und *susceperat* selbst befindet sich in einem Relativsatz, der von *qui* (Z. 531) bis *comitatus est* (Z. 534) reicht und seinerseits zwei untergeordnete Satzteile umschließt, eben den temporalen Nebensatz *postquam ... susceperat* und dann den Relativsatz *quam ... vocant*. Offenbar wollte also Cyriacus, um die zeitliche Differenz zu den vorhergehenden Perfektformen *venimus* und *comperi* sowie zum folgenden Perfekt *comitatus est* deutlicher hervortreten zu lassen, eine nach *postquam* eigentlich zu erwartende nochmalige Perfektform ('suscepit') vermeiden und wählte daher stattdessen das Plusqmpf. *susceperat*, zumal da nach bestimmten Zeitangaben *postquam* ohnehin regelmäßig das Plusqmpf. nach sich zieht. Der Vorteil der Tempusform *susceperat* besteht hier somit darin, daß der Satz 3 Zeitstufen, 5 verschiedene Verben und entsprechend viele Handlungsebenen aufweist: das Präsens *vocant*, die Perfektformen *venimus*, *comperi* und *comitatus est* sowie das Plusqmpf. *susceperat*. Dank diesem bunten Szenenwechsel erzielt Cyriacus wie jeder stilistisch versierte lateinische Autor auch in dieser Schilderung eine Reliefwirkung, welche generell um so stärker ist, je mehr Tempora und Modi möglichst zahlreicher Verben in kunstvoller Weise harmonisch aufeinander folgen<sup>3</sup>.

1. Vgl. die Literaturangaben bei Bodnar-Mitchell, S. 37.
2. *Qui ... me postquam perhumane susceperant* (Z. 626/7) bildet einen Sonderfall, da es sich hierbei um eine wörtliche Wiederholung des vorliegenden Satzteiles *qui me postquam perhumane susceperat* handelt. Dagegen sagt Cyriacus z.B. in Z. 874/5 wie üblich: *Qui me postquam perhoneste suscepit ...*
3. Vgl. dazu den instruktiven neuen Beitrag von Pinkster (s.o. S. 25).

N.

### 530 *Iohannem Lascarim pro Palamede Gatalusio praefectum:*

Johannes Laskaris Rhyndakenos war 1444-1455 (?) Statthalter von Samothrake und anscheinend 1455/56 von Imbros. Palamede Gattilusio, 1389 als Sohn des Francesco II. Gattilusio geboren, herrschte 1409-1455 über Ainos in Thrakien, seit ca. 1431 auch über Samothrake, sowie seit 1453 auch über Imbros. Was seine später (621 f.) von Ciriaco genannten Söhne betrifft, so starb Giorgio bereits 1449, während Dorino II. Gattilusio seinem Vater in der Herrschaft über Ainos, Imbros und Samothrake 1455-56 nachfolgte, diese Gebiete dann an Mehmed II. verlor, bald darauf vor den Türken floh und im Jahre 1488 in Genua weilte<sup>1</sup>.

1. *Prosopogr. Lex. der Palaiologenzeit* (PLP) VI (Wien, 1983), Nr. 14537, II (1977), Nr. 3583 u. 3593.

T.

559 *Carulo et ipso Grimaldo nobili comitante:*

Die Anmerkung (Nr. 97) der Herausgeber ist unzureichend; gemeint sind natürlich nicht zwei Personen, sondern nur eine wie in Z. 706 "Karulo Grimaldo duce"; "et ipso" dient zur Hervorhebung des Namens, außerdem steht "comitante" ja im Sg.

T.

## 618-648 (2 Berichte—die Fahrt nach Ainos betreffend—vom 28. Okt. 1444)

Der Text dieser beiden Tagebuchberichte steht nach Diktion, Syntax und Stil der vorhergehenden Schilderung (Z. 515-553) sowie dem kunstvollen Brief an G. Scholarios (Z. 471-504) näher als etwa den schmucklosen Tagebuchnotizen, die diesem Brief inhaltlich zugrundeliegen (Z. 426-459). Die formalen Unterschiede zu jenem trockenen Tagebuchbericht treten vielleicht am deutlichsten hervor, wenn man der—oben (S. 23) zitierten—Einleitung den Anfang des vorliegenden Textes gegenüberstellt: *Ad V Kal. Novemb. ex Imbro insula Lemnea devectus cymba, Aenum antiquam in Thracia ab Aenea profugo conditam civitatem venimus* ... (A. 618-20).

Zwar beginnt hier Cyriacus genau wie in Z. 426 (*Ad XII Kal. Octob. ex Byzantio* ...), fährt dann aber sogleich im selben Stil fort wie im folgenden, rhetorisch wesentlich anspruchsvolleren Brief an G. Scholarios; denn dem Partizipium coniunctum *basilea devectus trireme*, das Cyriacus im ersten Satz dieses Briefes verwendet, entspricht exakt *Lemnea devectus cymba* im Eingang des vorliegenden Tagebuchberichtes. So ist es wohl auch kein Zufall, daß Cyriacus in beiden Einleitungssätzen dasselbe Verb, nämlich *venimus*, in der gleichen Wortstellung als Prädikat benutzt, welchem zudem auch jeweils ein Richtungsakkusativ mit einer längeren Apposition vorangestellt ist: Die Satzteile *Proeconesum, Propontiacam atque marmorigenam insulam, venimus* (Z. 474/5) und *Aenum antiquam in Thracia ab Aenea profugo conditam civitatem venimus* (Z. 619/20) entsprechen einander evident. Eine Variante gegenüber Z. 475 besteht in Z. 619/20 darin, daß literarische Reminiszenzen hier nicht nach, sondern vor dem übergeordneten Verb *venimus* erkennbar sind. Denn während Cyriacus in Z. 475 direkt im Anschluß an *venimus* auf eine Episode bei Vergil anspielt<sup>1</sup>, erinnert er in Z. 619/20 an derartige antike Vorbilder unmittelbar vor *venimus*: Bei seinem Hinweis darauf, daß die alte Stadt Ainos von Aeneas auf der Flucht gegründet wurde, stützt sich Cyriacus wohl nicht nur auf Pomponius Mela (II 28: *eximia est Aenos ab Aenea condita*), sondern denkt gewiß auch an den berühmten Anfang der

Aeneis (1,2); denn bereits hier führt Vergil das Adjektiv *profugus* als charakteristisches Merkmal des Aeneas ein: .../*Italiam fato profugus Laviniaque venit*. Möglicherweise wirkte sich dieser herausragende Passus auch auf Cyriacus' Formulierung *Aenum ... venimus* aus. Auf sein Bestreben, zugleich den rhetorischen Stil nachzuahmen, weisen vielleicht die Alliterationen *Aenum antiquam* / *ab Aenea* und *conditam civitatem*.

Von einer 'imitatio sui' hingegen könnte man sprechen, wenn man auch die zweite Hälfte des Einleitungssatzes des vorliegenden Textes des Cyriacus mit seinem literarisch hochstehenden Brief an G. Scholarios vergleicht. Denn hier (Z. 623/6) begegnen auf engstem Raume sogar 5 Superlative, deren drei erste Cyriacus schon in jenem Brief verwendet hatte: ... *Christophorum Dentutum ... clarissimum nostrum ... et amicissimum revisi et eiusdem principis optimum secretarium Franciscum Calvum, humanissimum diligentissimumque*.

1. Zu *cum ... luctassent* vgl. o. S. 25.

N.

642 *basim ex marmore nobilem hoc loco reponendum curavi:*

Dies ist zu "reponendam curavi" zu verbessern. Ciriaco gebraucht diese Konstruktion übrigens häufig: *reponenda curavimus* (31), *epigramma ... ponendum curavimus* (500), *exornandamque curavit* (1024), *vocabulary excipiendum curavimus* (890).

T.

650 *Cretensi Phantasio ducente nauta:*

Bei der Namensform "Phantasius" (mit Var. Phantatius) scheint die Phantasie des Ciriaco mitgewirkt zu haben. Man könnte vielleicht an den Vornamen Fantino denken, vgl. etwa Fantino Vallaresso, den Erzbischof von Kreta 1425-43<sup>1</sup>.

1. PLP II 2063.

T.

850 *Ad Glycadeam vallem prope erutam aedem:*

Ein Glykada ist auf Thasos nicht bekannt, wohl aber ein Glyphada als Bezeichnung für einen kleinen Abschnitt der N-Küste, westlich der Hauptstadt der Insel<sup>1</sup>. Es kann sich entweder um einen Fehler der Überlieferung handeln oder wohl eher wieder um eine bewußte etymologisierende Aufwertung: *γλυφάδα* bedeutet "halb salziger Geschmack (des Brackwassers)", *γλυκάδα* hingegen "Süße".

Statt "prope erutam" ist "pro erineam" überliefert. Man könnte aus sachlichen Gründen eher "ruinosam" konjizieren (obwohl dies vom paläographischen Standpunkt auch nicht wahrscheinlicher ist) oder am besten gleich "prope *dirutam*", da Ciriaco dieses Wort bei ähnlichen Gelegenheiten gebraucht (223, 637, 653, 660, 777).

1. Vgl. Ὁδηγὸς τῆς Θάσου, Athen 1974, S. 110.

T.

865 *sacra heremita monasteria*:

Geläufig ist *heremita*, -ae nach dem griech. ἐρημίτης; Ciriaco verwendet hier jedoch ein Adjektiv, was durch den möglichen adjektivischen Gebrauch im Griechischen (z.B. ὁσος ἐρημίτης: Job 11,12) nahegelegt wird; korrekter wäre "eremitanus". Ein nicht unähnlicher Fall einer unvollkommenen Adjektivbildung liegt in Z. 473 (*basilea devectus trireme*) vor: Ciriaco greift nicht zu *basilicus* oder *regius* (so z.B. vorher 472), sondern hat wohl einerseits *basileus* (für βασιλεύς, vgl. Du Cange), andererseits das griech. Adj. βασιλειος im Kopf. Durch diese und andere (bes. Eigennamen) von uns erläuterte Beispiele wird deutlich, wie Ciriaco mit der Sprache experimentiert und gelegentlich einen fließenden Übergang zum Griechischen herstellt.

T.

866-868 *Vatopedion ... monasterium ab Andronico II Palaeologo ... dedicatum*:

Das Vatopedi-Kloster wurde nicht erst von Andronikos II. (1282-1328) gegründet, es stammt aus dem 10. Jh.<sup>1</sup>.

1. Vgl. D. Papachryssanthou, *Actes du Prôtaton* (Paris 1975), S. 91.

T.

873 *monachorumque patrem, quem Graece ... vocant*:

Die Lücke ist durch πνευματικόν zu ergänzen, vgl. 930 "monachum pneumaticum spiritualemque".

T.

875 *omnia mihi eiusdem sacresacra*:

Dies ist natürlich zu ... *eiusdem sacri sacra* zu korrigieren.

T.

876 *ostentarat*:

Da dieses Verbum in einem Hauptsatz steht, der auf einen Nebensatz

folgt (“postquam ... suscepit”), ist das Plpf. nicht haltbar<sup>1</sup>. Man könnte nun “ostentavit” erwarten, doch ist eine Änderung zu “ostentabat” aus paläographischen Gründen weit besser vertretbar. Außerdem kann darin eine gute Abstimmung vom Impf. als Verlaufsform (dem Ciriaco wurde die ganze Bibliothek genau gezeigt) zum folgenden Perfekt “Iliadem ... inspeximus” (Ansehen einiger ausgewählter Werke) erblicken.

1. Zu der von Ciriaco stets sinnvoll gewählten Abfolge der Tempora vgl. z.B. Z. 626-628 “postquam ... suscepit, ... omnia ... ostenderunt” und Z. 1119 “impleverat” (vgl. die Anm. dazu). Zum Gebrauch des Plpf. durch Ciriaco vgl. auch die Anm. zu Z. 515-553.

T.

877 *Macario prohegumeno*:

Dieser Mönch ist vermutlich derselbe Makarios, der uns bereits 1432 als Prohegumenos (Exabt) des Vatopedi-Klosters begegnet<sup>1</sup>.

1. M. Lascaris, “Actes serbes de Vatopédi”, *Byzantinoslavica*, 6 (1936), 185.

T.

892 *ad insignem et antiquissimum Hyberiae monasterium*:

Jean Colin<sup>1</sup> liest bzw. verbessert zu “insigne”; *insigne monasterium* schreibt Ciriaco übrigens auch Z. 948 f.

1. *Cyriace d'Ancône* (Paris, 1981), S. 127, Anm. 464.

T.

897 f. *tris quas antiquas in monitione habent ingenti magnitudine vegetes*:

“monitione” ist zu “munitione” zu verbessern oder wenigstens so zu verstehen: “drei alte Weinfässer von riesiger Größe, die sie in Verwahrung hatten”.

T.

926 f. *ex Hiberiano Niceanae Eleusae misericordiosaeque Virginis monasterio*:

Ciriaco zeigt eine besondere Vorliebe für Adjektivbildungen geographischer Namen mit dem Suffix-*-anus*: *Salubrianus* (2), *Byzantianus* (11,315), *Vatopedianus* (881, 962), *Hiberianus* (926, 1008), *Philotheanus* (928), *Servianus* (943), *Laureanus* (946, 948), *Thasianus* (1050, 1058, 1114). *Niceana*, das an *Nicaeanus*<sup>1</sup> (Nebenform von *Nicaenus* “aus Nikaia”) erinnert, könnte griechisches νικηφόρος, vielleicht auch νικητήριος oder νικήτρια wiedergeben; Eleusa ist transskribiertes ἐλε-οῦσα, das Ciriaco pleonastisch durch *misericordiosa* erläutert. In dieser

Weise verfährt er übrigens mehrmals: *ad acropolim, summam civitatis arcem* 725; *monachum pneumaticum spiritualemque* 930; *abbatem quem ut monachorum omnium ducem ἡγούμενον dicunt* 956 f.; ähnlich auch “ad extremam acrotereamve promontorii ripam” 950. Es dürfte lohnen, einen Vergleich mit dem ca. 500 Jahre früher lebenden Liudprand von Cremona zu ziehen, in dessen Werken “Antapodosis” und “Legatio” ja eine weit größere Reihe derartiger zweisprachiger Passagen vorkommt<sup>2</sup>. Man vergleiche mit den beiden zuletzt genannten Zitaten aus Ciriaco (956 f. u. 950) folgende zwei Stellen: τὸν ἡγούμενον, *ton igumenon, abbatem* (Antapodosis I 8, vgl. III 32 *igumeno, abbati*); *post acroteria, id est promontorium quoddam* (Legatio 65).

1. Vgl. Forcellini-Perin, *Lexicon totius latinitatis, Onomasticon* (Padua Nachdruck 1940).
2. Liudprandi *Opera*, ed. J. Becker (Hannover, 1915); vgl. J. Koder-Th. Weber, *Liutprand von Cremona in Konstantinopel* (Wien, 1980), bes. Ss. 40-51.

T.

#### 942 *Characalcum*:

Das Kloster heißt Karakallu, das der Legende nach von Kaiser Caracalla gegründet wurde (!)<sup>1</sup>. Ciriaco variiert—falls kein Fehler der Überlieferung vorliegt—den Namen leicht, unklar ist nur, woran er anknüpft; etwa an *calx* “Kalkstein” oder an χαλκός “Erz, Kupfer”? Und denkt er im ersten Teil des angeblichen Kompositums an χαρά “Freude”?

1. Beck, Kirche (vgl. Bem. zu Z. 471) S. 220.

T.

#### 948/9 *Laureanum maius omnium et insigne monasterium*:

Gemäß klassischem lateinischem Sprachgebrauch erwartet man hier statt *maius omnium* entweder (a) den Superlativ *maximum*, von dem dann—wie auch sonst oft bei Cyriacus<sup>1</sup>—als partitiver Genitiv *omnium* abhängt, oder (b) *omnibus* als Ablativus comparationis zu *maius*. Es scheint jedoch auch in diesem Falle kein Grammatikfehler bei Cyriacus vorzuliegen. Dabei braucht man nicht geltend zu machen, daß nach mittelalterlichem Sprachgebrauch ein Komparativ wie *maius* mitunter die gleiche Kraft besitzt wie die entsprechende Form des Superlativs<sup>2</sup>. Vielmehr drängt sich zur Erklärung der ungewöhnlichen Konstruktion, die Cyriacus hier wählt, als Parallelfall seine originelle Junktur Ποσειδῶνος *et Nereidum clarissima favitante placidissima Cymodocea* in Z. 502/3

auf<sup>3</sup>. Wie er hier nämlich geradezu programmatisch einen griechischen Genitivus absolutus mit einem lateinischen Ablativus absolutus verknüpfte, so bildet nun offenbar *maius omnium*—typisch für Cyriacus' synkretistischen Sprachstil—eine bewußt erstrebte prägnante Mixtur aus einem griechischen Genitivus comparationis und einem lateinischen Ablativus comparationis: *Maius omnium* stellt wohl nichts anderes dar als die wörtliche Zurückprojizierung der griechischen Phrase  $\mu\epsilon\iota\zeta\omicron\nu\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$  ins Lateinische.

1. Vgl. z.B. die markanten Junktoren *viro Graecorum doctissimo*, *Imbriotum doctissimo* und *Nereidum clarissima* im Brief an G. Scholarios; vgl. o. S. 28.
2. Vgl. Cyr. I, 48.
3. Vgl. o. S. 28-30.

N.

949 *sub altiori Athei montis vertice*:

“Athei” erinnert an ἄθεος “gottlos” (vgl. z.B. Liudprand, *Antapodosis* II 3 ἄθεοι ... *atheî*) und ist daher nicht haltbar. Zu schreiben ist sicherlich mit geringfügiger Korrektur “Athoi”. Allerdings kann es sich dann nicht um das Subst. Atho,-onis handeln wie in Z. 859 f. (mit Apposition: *apud Athon, religione sanctum ... montem*), sondern um ein im Lat. anscheinend nicht belegtes Adjektiv, gebildet nach gr. ἄθωος. Ähnliche von Ciriaco gewählte Umschreibungen bei Ortsangaben sind z.B. *Promontorium Perintheum* 157, *Samothraciae urbis* 557 oder *Thasii portus* 688.

T.

956 *Danielem venerandum abbatem*:

Dieser Daniel war auch noch 1447/48 Abt des Laura-Klosters auf dem Athos, vgl. PLP III 5101.

T.

959 f. *Neophyto qui et Zacchaeo prohegumeno*:

Über diesen Neophytos Zakchaios erfahren wir Näheres aus Notizen in drei Handschriften des Laura-Klosters<sup>1</sup>, denenzufolge er einmal (undatiert) als Priester und Abt bezeichnet wird, während zweimal sein Tod als Exabt (Prohegumenos) am 4.2.1484 vermerkt ist. Schwierigkeiten bereitet sein Vorname, insofern als er auch Nikephoros genannt wird; entweder war dies sein früherer weltlicher Name (dies würde dem beim Eintritt in den Mönchsstand üblichen Namenswechsel entsprechen) oder er hätte kurz von seinem Tod seinen Namen erneut geändert



(zweimaliger Namenswechsel ist allerdings sehr selten). Auf jeden Fall können wir, gestützt auf den Bericht des Ciriaco, die Liste der Äbte des Laura-Klosters korrigieren<sup>2</sup>. Der im Jahre 1452 bezeugte Prohegumenos Neophytos ist ja sicherlich kein anderer als unser Prohegumenos Neophytos Zakchaïos von 1444. Dies muß dann aber bedeuten, daß er zwischen Malachias (1429/30) und Daniel (1444) in sehr jungen Jahren Abt war<sup>3</sup> und ein hohes Alter erreicht hat.

1. Spyridon Lauriotes-S. Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on the Mount Athos* (Cambridge, 1925), S. 142 (Τιμιώτατε ἐν ἱερεῦσι καὶ ἐν Κυρίῳ μοι ποθεινότεα καὶ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Ζακχαῖε καὶ καθηγούμενε τῆς ἀγίας Λαύρας), S. 281 (Ἐκοιμήθη ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ Νεόφυτος ἱερομόναχος ὁ προηγούμενος, ὁ διὰ τοῦ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος μετονομασθεὶς Νικηφόρος τοῦ „ζϛβ“ ἔτους μηνὶ Φεβρουαρίῳ δ' τοῦ πικλῆν Ζακχαῖος), S. 355 (Ἐκοιμήθη ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ Θεοῦ Νικηφόρος ἱερομόναχος ὁ προηγούμενος τοῦ „ζϛβ“ ἔτους τοῦ πικλῆν Ζακχαῖος Φεβρουαρίου δ' αἰώνια του ἡ μνήμη); vgl. auch PLP III 6439.
2. P. Lemerle-A. Gouillou-N. Svoronos-D. Papachryssanthou, *Actes de Lavra IV* (Paris, 1981), S. 49 u. 62.
3. Als Mindestalter gelten 30 Jahre, vgl. Beck, *Kirche* (a.O.) S. 132.

T.

964 *parietibus expolitis marmoreis porphyreisque*:

“porphyreus” (gr. πορφύρεος) heißt hier (wie auch in Z. 1018) nicht “purpur”, sondern “aus Porphyry”. Diese Bedeutung hat im Agr. πορφυρίτης (lat. *porphyrites*, vgl. 871 *porphyritibusque ... lapidibus*). Erst im 5./6. Jh. kann auch πορφύρεος diesen Sinn bekommen<sup>1</sup>. In diesem Zusammenhang sei auf das Epitheton πορφυρογέννητος hingewiesen, das Ciriaco ebenfalls kennt (Z. 3 *Theodoro Porphyrogenito despote*) und das früher oft als “im Purpur geboren” mißverstanden wurde, tatsächlich jedoch von πορφύρα, dem porphyrtäfelten Gebärmutter im Kaiserpalast, abzuleiten ist<sup>2</sup>.

1. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1961); *Thesaurus graecae linguae*.
2. Vgl. Anna Komnene (ed. Leib) II 60 u. 90. Liudprand schwankt in der Deutung von “porphyrogenitus” (*Antapodosis* I 6 u. III 30 gegenüber *legatio* 15), vgl. auch Koder-Weber, l.c. 48.

T.

1012 *Vactanghen iuvenem triginta annorum ferme aetate*:

Es handelt sich um Wachtang IV., den Sohn Alexanders I., der von 1443-46 König von Georgien war<sup>1</sup>.

1. Vgl. Kalistrat Salia, *Histoire de la nation géorgienne* (Paris, 1980), S. 262.

T.

1015-24 *Verum ... curavimus*:

Der Aufbau dieses langen Satzes wird von vornherein überschaubarer, wenn man die rhetorische Eingangsformel *Verum et hoc unum minime praetermittendum censui*, welche mit Emphase die Mitteilung nur eines, jedoch wichtigsten Faktums ankündigt, als selbständigen Einzelsatz betrachtet und die davon abhängige Konjunktion *quod* wie ὅτι als Doppelpunkt auffaßt, der die folgenden Aussagen ebenfalls nachdrücklich hervorhebt. Infolgedessen beginnt das Satzgefüge wie der Brief an G. Scholarios<sup>1</sup> mit einem *postquam*-Nebensatz<sup>2</sup>, an den sich dann der Hauptsatz anschließt:

*expolitis marmoreis porphyreisque lapidibus columnis parietibus pavimentisque tam eximia elaboratis arte omni ex parte conspicuam, <eam> et Vatopedianam ipsam nobilem atque Laureanam quodammodo superasse cognovimus, quam ... curavit.*

So schreiben Bodnar-Mitchell und merken an: "eam et corr. by edd. out of vidimus ut et VL6T vidimus ut et ad RC-N5". Demnach ist der Satzteil *expolitis ... conspicuam* Apposition zum unmittelbar vorangestellten Substantiv *aedem*, und der (in keiner Hs. überlieferte) Zusatz "eam" soll verdeutlichen, daß die Junktur *pulcherrimam illius monasterii aedem*, worauf sich <eam> als zu ergänzendes Pronomen bezieht, den Subjektsakkusativ des von *cognovimus* abhängigen Accusativus cum Infinitivo bildet, *superasse* den Infinitiv und *Vatopedianam* sowie *Laureanam* (sc. *aedem*) die zugehörigen Akkusativobjekte. Nun darf man gewiß sinngemäß in diesem Hauptsatz ein Pronomen wie "eam" ergänzen, weil tatsächlich die im *postquam*-Satz genannte *aedes*, auf welche der Zusatz "eam" zurückverweist, im Mittelpunkt des Hauptsatzes steht. Aber eben dieser zentrale Gesichtspunkt läßt sich sprachlich klarer darstellen, wenn man von der in allen Hss. einhellig überlieferten Wortfolge *vidimus ut et* ausgeht.

Unter dieser Voraussetzung, die schon aus methodischen Gründen notwendig erscheint, enthält der Satz (wenn man von *conspeximus* am Anfang und *curavimus* am Schluß absieht) zwei Perfektformen: *vidimus* und *cognovimus*. Verbunden sind diese beiden Verben durch die Konjunktion *ut*, die hier grundsätzlich zwei Bedeutungen haben kann: (a) = 'wie' und (b) = 'sobald als'. Faßt man *ut* als Vergleichssatz im Sinne von (a) auf, ist der Kern des Satzes zu übersetzen: 'Nachdem wir die sehr schöne Kirche ... erblickt hatten, sahen wir, daß sie ... hervorragend war, wie wir auch erfuhren, daß sie ... übertraf'. Ein etwas anderer Sinn

ergibt sich, wenn man *ut* als Temporalsatz (= b) versteht, der regelmäßig einen Ind. Pf. wie hier *cognovimus* nach sich zieht. Denn ein solcher Nebensatz impliziert hier, daß *vidimus* und *cognovimus* zeitlich und kausallogisch aufs engste miteinander verknüpft sind: 'Sobald als' oder 'unmittelbar nachdem' Cyriacus erfuhr, daß die *pulcherrima aedes*, welche er von *expolit*is bis *conspiciuam* näher beschreibt und als Kunstwerk von vollendeter Schönheit preist, 'sogar' (= *et*) die prächtige *Vatopediana* (sc. *aedes*) und auch die *Laureana* bis zu einem gewissen Grade übertraf, entschloß er sich unverzüglich, sie zu besichtigen. Um nun diesen gedanklichen Zusammenhang auch äußerlich zu unterstreichen, rückte Cyriacus die zu *vidimus* und *cognovimus* gehörenden Satzteile so eng wie möglich zusammen. Folge dieser Angleichung war, daß Cyriacus das unmittelbar vor *vidimus* gestellte und von diesem Prädikat abhängende Akkusativobjekt *conspiciuam*, das seinerseits als begründender prädikativer Zusatz den übergeordneten Kardinalbegriff *pulcherrimam ... aedem* aufgreift, gleichzeitig auch dem Sinne nach als Subjektsakkusativ in den a.c.i. des direkt folgenden *ut*-Satzes einbezog. *Conspiciuam* erfüllt hier folglich in jedem Falle eine rhetorisch besonders wirkungsvolle grammatische Doppelfunktion.

Es liegt hier demnach—ähnlich wie ja z.B. in Z. 224/5 (*et cuius ergo veneram et Propontiacum superavimus mare*)<sup>3</sup>—ein Zeugma vor: Hatte Cyriacus an jener Stelle *superavimus* sowohl auf *mare* als auch (in anderer Bedeutung) auf *cuius ergo veneram* bezogen (wobei gedanklich als Pronomen "eum" zu ergänzen ist), so bezieht er hier *conspiciuam* zugleich als Akkusativobjekt zu *vidimus* und als Subjektsakkusativ auf den von *cognovimus* abhängigen a.c.i. Daher ist zwar nach der Konjunktion *ut*, welche—analog zu *et-et* in Z. 224/5—*vidimus* mit *cognovimus* verbindet, ebenfalls entsprechend Z. 224 sinngemäß ein Pronomen zu ergänzen, und zwar statt "eum" hier "eam" oder besser noch "eandem" (sc. *pulcherrimam ... aedem ... conspiciuam*). Aber ebensowenig wie in Z. 224 "eum" darf man hier "eam" oder "eandem" in den Text setzen, wie es Bodnar-Mitchell tun, weil sonst der besondere Effekt, den Cyriacus offenbar erstrebt, verhindert wird. Denn fügt man "eam" in den *ut*-Satz ein, entsteht eine Ambivalenz, die Cyriacus wohl gleichermaßen aus grammatischen und rhetorischen Gründen vermeiden wollte: Stünde "eam" im Text, wiese der *ut*-Satz zwei Akkusative in verschiedenen Funktionen auf, nämlich auf der einen Seite eben "eam" und auf der anderen Seite *Vatopedianam* sowie *Laureanam*. Der Reiz der Satzkonstruktion besteht jedoch gerade darin, daß man *conspiciuam* als den sinntragenden Zentral-

begriff ohne eine zusätzliche Stütze wie das Pronomen "eam" in den folgenden Satzteil hinüberziehen muß, damit so dieses hervorragende Bauwerk, das ja den Mittelpunkt der Schilderung bildet, auch sprachlich das Satzgefüge gleichsam aus eigener Kraft so weit wie möglich beherrscht. Die syntaktisch gewiß ungewöhnliche<sup>4</sup>, aber gerade deshalb rhetorisch um so effektvollere Struktur des vorliegenden Satzes ist somit der einzigartigen künstlerischen Qualität der *aedes*, welche Cyriacus hier beschreibt, durchaus angemessen.

Erweist sich daher der Aufbau dieses Satzes, wenn man die überlieferte Wortfolge wiederherstellt, als grammatisch korrekt und stilistisch besonders kunstvoll, so scheint nur ein einziges Wort aus sachlichen Gründen weniger passend zu sein, sofern man *ut* mit 'sobald als' übersetzt: Statt *vidimus* ('wir haben gesehen') erwartet man in diesem Falle eher *visimus* ('wir haben besichtigt'). Für *visimus* anstelle von *vidimus* sprechen hier auch andere Erwägungen: Die Verben *videre* und *visere* sind nicht nur etymologisch verwandt, sondern bezeichnen auch ähnliche Sachverhalte; Cyriacus gebraucht daher die Formen *vidimus* und *visimus* in seinem Reisebericht naturgemäß oft, und zwar mit Vorliebe wie hier in Tagebucheinträgen<sup>5</sup>. Auch paläographisch ist die Konjekture *visimus* unbedenklich, da sie nur die Änderung eines Buchstabens erfordert.

Als Ergebnis der textkritischen Erörterung ergibt sich mithin in jedem Falle (unabhängig davon, wie man *ut* und *vidimus* jeweils interpretiert) folgende Textfassung:

... *postquam diligentius ipso cum ecclesiarche Iacobo pulcherrimam illius monasterii conspeximus aedem, expolitum marmoreis porphyreisque lapidibus columnis parietibus pavimentisque tam eximia elaboratis arte omni ex parte conspiciam vidimus, ut et Vatopedianam ipsam nobilem atque Laureanam quodammodo superasse cognovimus* ...

1. *Postquam* ... *concessimus* (Z. 472); vgl. dazu o. S. 23.
2. Z. 1016/7: *postquam diligentius ipso cum ecclesiarche Iacobo pulcherrimam illius monasterii conspeximus aedem*.
3. Vgl. dazu Cyr. I 53-56.
4. Vielleicht handelt es sich auch hier um eine Kontamination lateinischer mit griechischer Konstruktionsweise: Infinitivkonstruktionen wie der a.c.i. werden im Griechischen bekanntlich nicht so streng gehandhabt wie im Lateinischen; eine Ergänzung wie "eam", die Bodnar-Mitchell im vorliegenden Falle sogar für unbedingt notwendig halten, wäre daher in einem analogen griechischen Satz noch weniger erforderlich als hier in der lateinischen Fassung.
5. Vgl. insbesondere die Beispiele in Cyr. I 69.

1022 *Euthymus olim optimus Hiberorum princeps quingentos ante annos:*

Die ältere Handschrift hat die bessere Lesart "Euthymius". Der eigentliche Gründer des Iberer-Klosters war dessen Vater Johannes, ein vornehmer Georgier. Die Lebenszeit des Euthymios erstreckt sich von ca 955 bis 1028, als Gründungsdatum des Klosters gilt das Jahr 979/80, demnach ist die Zeitangabe bei Ciriaco etwas aufgerundet<sup>1</sup>.

1. Vgl. D. Papachryssanthou, *Actes du Prôtaton* (Paris, 1975), Ss. 83-85, 88.

T.

## 1046-72 ('Epigramm' auf Francesco III. Gattilusio, den Herrscher von Thasos, vom 1. Weihnachtstag = 25. Dez. 1444)

Dieses 'Epigramm' nimmt ebenso wie das Bittgebet an Merkur (Z. 414-24)<sup>1</sup> eine Sonderstellung ein. Cyriacus leitet den Text zwar im gleichen Stil wie die vorhergehenden Tagebuchberichte ein: *Ad III Non. Decembr. ex Vatopediano monasterio Thasion insulam civitatemque revisi, ubi adusque incarnati Verbi natalicia festa morantes, hoc in Franciscum Gatalusium principem epigramma conscripsi* (Z. 1042-45). Aber diese Einführung erfüllt nur die Funktion, drei Aspekte des folgenden Textes hervorzuheben, die sich aus ihm ohnehin ergeben: Datum, Adressat und literarische Gattung. Cyriacus schließt zwar mit dem Satz: *Iamque vale, felix Francisce, ingenua Palaeologum proles et insigne Gatalusiae nobilissimae gentis decus* (Z. 1073/4). Die für einen Brief typische Abschiedsformel *vale* läßt daher vermuten, daß der vorhergehende Text insgesamt einen Brief bildet; denn dieselbe stereotype Wendung gebrauchte Cyriacus ja zuletzt auch am Ende seiner Briefe an G. Scholarios (Z. 500) und den Anonymus (Z. 508). Aber schon die hymnische Anrede *felix Francisce* und die folgende Prädikation dieses 'Fürsten' (*princeps*) als eines hervorragenden Sprosses der *gens Gatalusia* weist darauf hin, daß es sich in Z. 1046-72 tatsächlich, wie Cyriacus ankündigt, um ein 'Epigramm' auf F. Gatalusius als Herrscher von Thasos handelt, und zwar ein Epigramm ganz besonderer Art: ein aufs sorgfältigste ausgearbeitetes panegyrisches Glückwunschepigramm in Prosaform, jedoch mit vielen typischen Elementen des hohen poetischen Stils.

Der Text bedarf daher—ähnlich wie das Bittgebet an Merkur—einer ausführlicheren Kommentierung. Dabei müßten zunächst (a) alle antiken Quellen ermittelt werden, welche Cyriacus in diesem Epigramm benutzte<sup>2</sup>. Auf diese Weise würde man dann (b) die literarische Leistung des Cyriacus and damit die Eigenart des vorliegenden Textes am besten erkennen. Da Bodnar-Mitchell ihn ohne jede Differenzierung abdrucken

und (abgesehen von einigen Bemerkungen im textkritischen Apparat) keiner einzigen Anmerkung würdigen, sei das Epigramm hier wenigstens in gegliederter Fassung vorgestellt, damit Struktur, Diktion und Intention des Textes auf Anhieb klarer erkennbar werden. Das Epigramm umfaßt zwei umfangreiche und unterschiedlich aufgebaute, jedoch aufs engste miteinander verknüpfte kunstvolle Sätze, die unter kompositorischen und thematischen Gesichtspunkten mit jenem Bittgebet an Merkur am ehesten vergleichbar sind:

## A

*Felix dives faustum atque fortunatissimum esto,  
 magnanime Francisce princeps,  
 tuum hoc huius Thasiae nobilis insulae dominii constitutaeque  
 restorationis ac optimae iam coeptae gubernationis principium,  
 sintque felicia et beata  
 praeclara haec abs te tua hac Thasiana regia civitate celebrata  
 recentisque anni recensiti diva atque solemnna humanati Iovis  
 eiusceve incarnati Verbi natalicia  
 necnon  
 ille a te tua hac turrata in aula sero tam laetus ad larem  
 flagrantibus focus admotus ingens dicatus et laetitia die  
 libatus ac principum veterum de more sacer et memorabilis truncus.*

## B

*Ut  
 perinde ac hodie VIII Kalendas Ianuarias a eiusdem incarnati  
 Iovis anno milleno quatricenteno quinto et quaterdeno,  
 magnifico Lesbeo Mityleneoque principe donante Dorino optimo  
 parente tuo  
 Thasianam hanc insulam praeclaram atque marmoream urbem et  
 eiusdem insulae occidentale emporium Neocastrum, Calirachium,  
 Anastasium, Potamium, Chinarum suiscumque omnibus adiacen-  
 tibus vicis villisque et magnalibus agrisque et plurigenum  
 linguis<sup>3</sup> hominibus <fauste> feliciterque<sup>4</sup> imperitare  
 videmus  
 ita  
 adventura eiusce incarnati Verbi solemnna ac deinceps long-  
 aevo utique per annos omnes per Thraciam urbes et oppida  
 agrosque et homines atque sacra, quae dudum eiusdem tuae in-  
 sulae dicionis fuere, barbarica illa saeva tyrannide et op-  
 pressionem sublata tua sub optima atque dignissima potestate  
 feliciter fauste quamque laudatissime  
 videamus  
 optimi maximique Iovis et Beatae Virginis almae Ioannis-*

*que sanctissimi Evangelistae protectoris tui auspicante  
numine ceterisque caelicolum iuvantibus divis almis  
felicissimisque numinibus.*

1. Vgl. Cyr. I 66-68.
2. Vgl. generell R. Keydell, Art. "Epigramm", in: *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 5 (1962) 539-577; G. Bernt, *Das lateinische Epigramm im Übergang von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter*. Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 2 (München 1968).
3. Zur Korrektur "linguarum" s.u. S. 53.
4. Diese Wortverbindung setzt ein Adverb vor *feliciter* voraus. Am nächsten liegt die Ergänzung "fauste". Denn im entsprechenden Teil des folgenden *ita*-Satzes steht hinter *feliciter* ebenfalls *fauste*, und außerdem verwendete Cyriacus *felix* und *faustus* bereits in der formelhaften ersten Zeile des Epigramms.

N.

1060 f. *emporium Neocastrum, Calirachium, Anastasium, Potamium, Chinarum*:

Diese Ortsnamen bzw. Toponyme auf Thasos sind bekannt als: Καληράχη, Ἅγιος Ἀναστάσιος, Ποταμιά, Κοίνυρα<sup>1</sup>. Nur *Neocastrum* gibt es heute nicht. Es ist aber aufgrund der Beschreibung des Ciriaco eindeutig mit dem heutigen Λιμενάρια zu identifizieren, das den Hafen für das im Inneren der Insel gelegene Κάστρο darstellt.

1. Vgl. Ὁδηγὸς τῆς Θάσου (Ἀθήναι, 1974), Ss. 92-109; Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἑγκυκλοπαίδεια XII 455.

T.

1062 f. *plurigenum linguis hominibus*:

Die Abfolge der Worte ("plurigenum" ohne Beziehung zu einem der folgenden Substantiva) ist eine stilistische Härte und außerdem sachlich unklar. Die paläographisch einfachere Verbesserung wäre "plurigenis linguis hominibus" mit Abl. qual., sprachlich und stilistisch befriedigender ist jedoch "plurigenum linguarum hominibus". Das entspricht insbesondere der Vorliebe des Ciriaco für den synkoptierten Gen. -um der Feminina: *Christicolum* 405 (vgl. die Anmerkung zu dieser Stelle), *caelicolum* 1072. Unserer Stelle besonders ähnlich ist "vidimus bibliothecam Graecarum quidem litterarum omnigenum disciplinarum voluminum multitudine refertam" (975-977), wodurch auch die Form des (sonst unbekannten?) Wortes "plurigenus" (von mehrfacher Art; vgl. *omnigenus* = von jeglicher Art, *multigenus* = vielartig) klar wird.

T.

## 1100-1142 (Brief an Johannes Pedemontanus vom Januar 1445)

Dieser Brief, der vierte und letzte der vorliegenden Ausgabe, steht—ähnlich wie der Brief an G. Scholarios<sup>1</sup>—von vornherein auf einem hohen literarischen Niveau: Hatte Cyriacus jenen Adressaten als ‘den gelehrtesten Griechen’ angeredet und den folgenden Text demgemäß besonders kunstvoll gestaltet, so richtet er den Brief an Johannes Pedemontanus, indem er ihn als ‘Lehrer’ (*praeceptor*)<sup>2</sup> des Herrschers von Thasos<sup>3</sup> apostrophiert: ... *ad Francisci Thassiani principis praeceptorem* (Z. 1098/9). Man kann deshalb davon ausgehen, daß die Qualität dieses Briefs an eine so hochgestellte und gebildete Persönlichkeit besonders hoch ist. Diese Erwartung wird gleich im ersten Satz erfüllt:

*Cum ad sequentem recentis anni celebratae Thassiana in aula solemnitatis noctem post dulces et invicem iteratos amplexus nos Aenum antiquam petentes scapham bonis avibus conscenderemus, sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nautae carpebant somnos, Κυριακὸν δὲ σὸν<sup>4</sup> οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος.*

Während also Cyriacus den Brief an G. Scholarios mit einem *postquam*-Satz (+ Ind. Pf.) begann und mit einem *cum*-Satz (+ Konj. Plqpf.) beendete, eröffnet er den vorliegenden Brief mit *cum* + Konj. Impf. (*conscenderemus*); der folgende Hauptsatz steht—ebenfalls im Unterschied zu jenem Brief (*venimus*)—im Imperfekt und weist zudem zwei verschiedene Subjekte auf (*carpebant*/οὐκ ἔχε).

Cyriacus gibt demnach hier nicht den Endpunkt einer Reiseetappe an und gebraucht daher auch nicht ein konstatierendes Perfekt wie *venimus*, welches das Ergebnis einer Handlung ausdrückt. Vielmehr beschreibt Cyriacus den allgemeinen Zustand auf dem Schiff, das er in der Nacht vom 25. zum 26. Dez. 1444 (*ad sequentem ... noctem*)<sup>5</sup> bestieg, um von Thasos nach Ainos zu fahren, und benutzt deswegen das Imperfekt als Verlaufsform<sup>6</sup>. Dabei ahmt er wiederum klassische Stellen der antiken Literatur nach. So ist der erste Teil des Hauptsatzes (*sub ... nautae*) identisch mit einem Vers aus folgendem Passus bei Vergil (*Aen.* 5,835-40):

*Iamque fere mediam caeli Nox umida metam  
contigerat, placida laxabant membra quiete  
sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nautae,  
cum levis aetheriis delapsus Somnus ab astris  
aera dimovit tenebrosum et dispulit umbras,  
te, Palinure, petens, tibi somnia tristia portans ...*

Indem also Cyriacus den Vers *sub ... nautae* wörtlich übernahm und in seinen Prosasatz integrierte, verlieh er ihm eine besonders starke Wir-



kung, zumal da er in den übrigen Fällen die betreffende literarische Vorlage jeweils abwandelt. So ersetzt er das Prädikat *laxabant* (sc. *placida membra quiete*), das bei Vergil zum Subjekt *nautae* gehört, durch *carpebant somnos*, erzielt dadurch allerdings ebenfalls einen nachhaltigen Effekt: Das Substantiv *somnus* und die Zeitstufe, die *carpebant* ausdrückt, entsprechen jeweils dem Vorbild in *Aen.* 5, 836/8 aber die Junktur *carpere somnos* entnahm Cyriacus wohl vor allem<sup>7</sup> dem Satz *Aeneas... / carpebat somnos...* (*Aen.* 4, 454/5). Cyriacus verknüpft demnach mit dem Ausdruck *carpebant somnos* verschiedene Vergilstellen zu einer neuen Einheit. Die Wortfolge *carpebant somnos* bildet zudem eine Penthemimeres, die 1. Hälfte eines daktylischen Hexameters, und setzt damit die Linie fort, welche Cyriacus mit dem direkt vorhergehenden Satzteil *sub ... nautae* (= *Aen.* 5,837) begonnen hatte und unmittelbar darauf konsequent weiterführt: Κυριακὸν δὲ σὸν οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος. Zweifellos liegt hier eine Homerrezeption vor; denn das 2. Buch der *Ilias* beginnt mit den Versen:

Ἄλλοι μὲν ῥα θεοὶ τε καὶ ἄνδρες ἱπποκορυσταὶ  
 εὖδον παννύχιοι, Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος,  
 ἀλλ' ὃ γε μερμήριζε κατὰ φρένα ὥς ...

Cyriacus hätte hier in der Tat kaum eine passendere literarische Quelle finden können, um sie mit jenen beiden Vergilstellen zu verbinden und zugleich auf seine eigene Situation vor der Abfahrt nach Ainos zu übertragen: Bei Homer befinden sich Götter und menschliche Helden in tiefem nächtlichem Schlummer, während Zeus voller Unruhe wach bleibt und nach langem Sinnen den Plan faßt, Agamemnon einen trügerischen Traum zu senden. Bei Vergil dagegen sind es Aeneas' Bootsknechte, die in der Nacht fest eingeschlafen sind; nur Palinurus, der tüchtige Steuermann des Aeneas, nimmt eine Sonderstellung ein, da ihm der Schlafgott erscheint und einen unheilvollen Traum sendet. Den Gegenüberstellungen Götter-Menschen/Zeus und *nautae*/Palinurus entspricht also bei Cyriacus der Kontrast *nautae*/Κυριακός: Cyriacus setzt an Zeus' Stelle seinen eigenen Namen, indem er Δία δ' zu Κυριακὸν δὲ σὸν (sc. οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος) umwandelt, und hebt damit aufs wirkungsvollste hervor, daß er als Freund des J. Pedemontanus in jener Nacht wie einst der Göttervater Zeus keinen Schlaf fand, während seine Gefährten alle tief schliefen (*carpebant somnos* ~ εὖδον παννύχιοι).

Dabei läßt Cyriacus indes offen, ob er in der Nacht, welche er schlaflos verbrachte, die gleichen Sorgen hatte wie Zeus in der *Ilias* (B 2 ff.) oder

wie Palinurus in der Aeneis (5,840 ff.): Denkt man an Zeus, der 'Achill ehren', Agamemnon dagegen und den 'Schiffen der Danaer Verderben bringen wollte', dann schmiedete Cyriacus vor der Seereise nach der Küstenstadt Ainos, die wie die türkische Hauptstadt Adrianopolis in Thrakien lag, bereits wieder Pläne, um trotz der verheerenden Niederlage, welche die christlichen Truppen bei Varna wenige Wochen vorher (am 10. Nov. 1444) erlitten hatten, den 'Heiligen Krieg' gegen die Türken<sup>8</sup> doch noch siegreich zu beenden. Erinnert man hingegen an das traurige Los des Palinurus, der kurz nach jener Szene in der Aeneis, die Cyriacus weitgehend imitiert, ins Meer stürzt, um dann von den Lucanern getötet zu werden, dann konnte Cyriacus deshalb keinen Schlaf finden, weil er befürchtete, auf der gefahrvollen Schiffsfahrt nach der alten Stadt Ainos (*Aenum antiquam petentes*), welche nach der Sage—wie Cyriacus selbst betont<sup>9</sup>—von dem Trojaner Aeneas gegründet wurde, das gleiche Schicksal zu erleiden wie Aeneas' Steuermann Palinurus.

Vielleicht fließen auch beide Vorstellungen, die er durch seine Anspielungen auf *Il.* 2,2 ff. und *Aen.* 5,840 ff. hervorruft, bei Cyriacus untrennbar zusammen, zumal da er wie so viele andere Zeitgenossen die archaisierende Bezeichnung *Teuceri* für die *Turci* (Τούρκοι) verwendete und somit die antiken Trojaner (Τεῦκροι) mit den Türken gleichsetzte<sup>10</sup>. Jedenfalls ahmt Cyriacus hier Homer und Vergil auch darin nach, daß er mit dem Satz Κυριακὸν δὲ σὸν οὐκ ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος<sup>11</sup> fünf Daktylen (von denen der letzte freilich katalektisch ist) aneinanderreihet. So folgt auf einen kompletten lateinischen Hexameter (*sub ... nautae*) und eine Penthemimeres (*carpebant somnos*) ein fast vollständiger griechischer Hexameter (Κυριακὸν ... ὕπνος)—eine weitere Variante des synkretistischen Bestrebens des Cyriacus, griechische und lateinische Elemente miteinander zu verbinden; demgemäß wählte er unmittelbar vorher statt einer rein lateinischen Bezeichnung für 'Schiff' das griechische Fremdwort *scapha* (= σκάφη). Berücksichtigt man ferner, daß er direkt vor dem vorliegenden Brief (Z. 1075-91) ein italienisch verfaßtes Gedicht an F. Gattilusio gerichtet hatte, erweckt Cyriacus den Eindruck, als ob er sich hier gegenüber J. Pedemontanus, dem Erzieher jenes Herrschers, als 'trilinguis' profilieren wolle—als ein Mann, der entsprechend berühmten antiken Vorbildern drei Sprachen beherrschte, nämlich neben seiner Muttersprache Italienisch sowohl Lateinisch als auch Griechisch.

An einen berühmten Passus der römischen Dichtung klingt wohl bereits die Junktur *post dulces et invicem iteratos amplexus* an. Diese Umarmungen zwischen Cyriacus und Freunden, als er von Thasos nach

Ainos abreisen wollte, erinnern nämlich insbesondere an Horazens Satire I 5, das poetische Tagebuch einer Reise, die der Dichter mit Freunden nach Brindisi unternahm; ein Vergleich dieses klassischen *iter Brundisium* mit Cyriacus' Itinerarium liegt daher von vornherein sehr nahe<sup>12</sup>. Im Verlauf seiner Reise begegneten Horaz zu seiner größten Freude drei Freunde (*sat.* 1,5,40-44):

*Plotius et Varius Sinuessa Vergiliusque  
occurrunt, animae, qualis neque candidiores  
terra tulit neque quis me sit devinctior alter.  
O qui complexus et gaudia quanta fuerunt.  
Nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico.*

Zum Kreis seiner drei besten Freunde, die Horaz hier so hymnisch preist, gehört demnach auch Vergil, der Lieblingsdichter des Cyriacus. Der emphatische Ausruf *o qui complexus et gaudia quanta fuerunt* impliziert, daß die wechselseitigen Umarmungen zwischen Horaz und seinen Freunden Vergil, Plotius und Varius zahlreich und sehr herzlich waren. Diesem Vorbild entspricht sprachlich ebenso wie sachlich der Ausdruck *dulces et invicem iterati amplexus* bei Cyriacus: Statt des Substantivs *complexus*, welches bei Horaz ein ἀπαξ λεγόμενον und schon deshalb besonders wirkungsvoll ist, verwendet Cyriacus das zwar bei Horaz nicht vorkommende, aber zum selben Wortstamm gehörige und gleichbedeutende Substantiv *amplexus*; ebenso weisen die Zusätze *dulces et invicem iterati* (sc. *amplexus*) bei Cyriacus auf den gleichen Sachverhalt wie *o qui* (sc. *complexus*) und *quanta* (sc. *gaudia*) sowie *devinctior* und *iucundo amico* bei Horaz. Cyriacus wandelt also wie so oft poetische Formulierungen, wie sie hier Horaz gebraucht, in Prosa um. Die Übereinstimmungen mit jenem Passus bei Horaz verdienen aus zwei Gründen besondere Beachtung: (a) Es gibt in der lateinischen Literatur der Antike zwar weitere sprachliche Parallelen zu *amplexus* (bzw. *complexus*) bei Cyriacus<sup>13</sup>, aber zumindest im christlichen Bereich keine Stellen, die sachlich mit dem von Cyriacus geschilderten Vorgang vergleichbar wären. (b) Diese Feststellung läßt den Schluß zu, daß Cyriacus auch im vorliegenden Falle pagane Wertvorstellungen wie selbstverständlich übernimmt: Die so herzlichen und oftmals wiederholten Umarmungen mit seinen Freunden scheinen vorauszusetzen, daß Cyriacus ebenso wie Horaz (*nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico*) und gemäß der Auffassung der gesamten nichtchristlichen Antike (im Gegensatz zur christlichen Antike)<sup>14</sup> die Freundschaft für das höchste men-

schliche Gut hielt. So erklärt es sich schließlich, daß auch die auf *dulces ... amplexus* folgende Junktur *bonis avibus*—wie *bona ... ave* (Z. 506/7)<sup>15</sup>—den Einfluß nichtchristlicher Anschauungen auf Cyriacus erkennen läßt.

Nachdem also Cyriacus gleich im ersten Satz seines Briefes an J. Pedemontanus eine bestimmte Stillage und Tonart festgelegt hat, fährt er in gleicher Manier fort: *Sed multum antea quam cristatus ales vigili ore tepidum provocaret diem, ἀλληλοῦῖα canens socios navarchum*<sup>16</sup> *excitavi* (Z. 1104-6). Wie Bodnar-Mitchell erkannten, ahmt Cyriacus hier zur Abwechslung ein Distichon Ovids (*Fast.* 1, 455/6) nach:

*Nocte deae Nocti cristatus caeditur ales,  
quod tepidum vigili provocat ore diem.*

Cyriacus formt beide Verse wiederum geschickt in einen Prosasatz um, indem er (a) Ovids Hauptsatz (*nocte ... ales*) und den folgenden *quod*-Nebensatz zusammenfaßt und in einen temporalen Nebensatz (*antea quam ... provocaret*) umwandelt, (b) dabei die drei ersten Worte (*nocte deae Nocti*) wegläßt, (c) alle anderen Wörter, die Ovid bietet, in einer veränderten, einem Prosasatz angemessenen Reihenfolge anordnet und (d) das so entstandene neue Satzgefüge mit dem vorhergehenden Satz logisch verknüpft (*sed multum*). Der auf den *antea quam*-Nebensatz folgende Hauptsatz (*ἀλληλοῦῖα ... excitavi*) ist zwar kurz, aber für Cyriacus' Synkretismus charakteristisch: Cyriacus verbindet ein griechisches und zudem diesmal typisch christliches Wort (*ἀλληλοῦῖα*) mit einem aus dem Griechischen ins Lateinische übernommenen Fachbegriff (*navarchus*), dem mit *κανάζειν* verwandten lateinischen Verb *canere* sowie zwei rein lateinischen Wörtern (*socius* und *excitare*). Bei der Bildung der Verbformen hält sich Cyriacus wiederum streng an die für einen Prosasatz geltenden klassischen Regeln des Tempus- und Modusgebrauchs: *Antea quam ... provocaret* und *canens* entsprechen *cum ... conscenderemus* und *petentes* im vorhergehenden Satz, während mit *excitavi*—gegenüber *carpebant* und *ἔχε*—erstmalig der Ind. Perf. auftritt; dieser Wechsel vom Imperfekt zum Perfekt ist darauf zurückzuführen, daß Cyriacus hier nicht einen Zustand beschreibt wie bei *carpebant/ἔχε*, sondern in fortschreitender Erzählung eine einmalige und auf einen bestimmten Augenblick beschränkte Handlung wiedergibt: Cyriacus weckte plötzlich, weil er in der Nacht vor der Abfahrt nach Thasos keinen Schlaf fand, den noch schlummernden Schiffskapitän und seine Mannschaft noch weit vor Tagesanbruch mit christlichem Halleluja-

Gesang auf. Die Wirkung dieses Szenenwechsels verstärkt Cyriacus noch durch den folgenden Übergang:

*Et cum alta quievissent aequora cunctaque videremus caelo constare sereno, Arcturum pluviasque Hyadas geminosque Triones, soluta e molo puppe illico iucundum nostrum remis velisque tendimus iter, ac insignem placidumque Thassii portum ἱεραμουλήντε linquentes, diu felici sub Gatalusiae gentis imperio valere ciemus.*

Cyriacus beginnt zwar wie im ersten Satz mit einem 'cum historicum', verwendet dabei aber als Tempus erstmals das Plqupf. (*quievissent*) und außerdem nochmals den Konj. Impf. (*videremus*). Im Hauptsatz begegnet dann wiederum eine neue Zeitform, nämlich das Präsens, und zwar in zwei Verben, die mit *et* verbunden und damit auf eine Stufe gestellt sind: *tendimus* und *ciemus*. Dabei ist *tendimus* ambivalent; denn da die vorgeschalteten Tempora *quievissent* und *videremus* im folgenden übergeordneten Hauptsatz nach den Regeln der 'Consecutio temporum' die Verbform eines Tempus der Vergangenheit erfordern, ist *tendimus* als Praesens historicum aufzufassen, welches die Kraft eines konstatierenden Perfekts besitzt. So enthält der Text des vorliegenden Briefes bereits in den drei ersten Sätzen alle vier Zeitstufen, welche in einer historischen Erzählung auftreten können, und außerdem auch verschiedene Modi von Verben. Dadurch erzielt Cyriacus die von allen guten lateinischen Prosaschriftstellern gerade in Schilderungen historischer Ereignisse erstrebte lebendige Reliefwirkung, die durch den farbigen Wechsel möglichst vieler Tempora und Modi hervorgerufen wird<sup>17</sup>.

Kein Wunder also, daß Cyriacus in eine sprachlich-stilistisch so kunstvolle Satzstruktur zugleich wieder literarische Vorbilder der Antike einbezieht. Bezeichnenderweise wählt Cyriacus als erstes Muster einen Text, der mit dem kurz vorher ausgewerteten Vergilpassus (*Aen.* 5,835 ff.) wesentliche Gemeinsamkeiten aufweist: *Aen.* 3,509 ff.; denn auch hier liegen Aeneas sowie alle Gefährten in tiefem Schlaf, und nur Palinurus bildet eine Ausnahme, da er folgende Funktion erfüllt (515-20):

*sidera cuncta notat tacito labentia caelo,  
Arcturum pluviasque Hyadas geminosque Triones  
armatumque auro circumspicit Oriona.  
Postquam cuncta videt caelo constare sereno,  
dat clarum e puppi signum: nos castra movemus  
temptamusque viam et velorum pandimus alas.*

Als zweite Hauptvorlage des Cyriacus kommt hier eine weitere Kernstelle der Aeneis (7,5-7) in Betracht:

*At pius exsequiis Aeneas rite solutis  
aggere composito tumuli, postquam alta quierunt  
aequora, tendit iter velis portumque relinquit.*

Cyriacus exzerpiert und kontaminiert beide Passagen gleichmäßig, indem er (a) den gesamten Vers *Aen.* 3,516 (*Arcturum ... Triones*)—ebenso wie vorher *Aen.* 5,837—unverändert übernimmt, (b) die beiden mit *postquam* eingeleiteten Nebensätze (*Aen.* 3,518 *cuncta videt caelo constare sereno* und 7,6/7 *postquam alta quierunt/aequora*) in umgekehrter Reihenfolge, jedoch mit Benutzung aller Wörter zu einem Nebensatz mit 'cum historicum' umgestaltet (*cum alta quievissent aequora cunctaque videremus caelo constare sereno*) und (c) sämtliche Bestandteile auch des Hauptsatzes *tendit iter velis portumque relinquit* (*Aen.* 7,7) übernimmt, aus dem entsprechenden Hauptsatz *dat clarum e puppi signum* (*Aen.* 3,519) dagegen nur die Junktur *e puppi*, diese dann mit dem Ablativus absolutus *exsequiis rite solutis* (*Aen.* 7,5) verbindet und somit die neuartige Zusammenstellung *soluta e molo puppi* bietet; Ergebnis dieser Kombination der betreffenden Vergilverse ist bei Cyriacus die Wortfolge *soluta e molo puppe ... velis ... tendimus iter ... portum ... linquentes*, wobei er also *relinquit* in ein Partizip umformt und statt des Kompositums das Simplex (*linquentes*) wählt, aber die Silbenzahl von *relinquit* beibehält.

Nun erinnert dieses gesamte Verfahren des Cyriacus, aus verschiedenen Vergilversen einen neuen Satz zu bilden, gewiß an die antike Cento-Dichtung<sup>18</sup>, jene als Kunstwerke fragwürdigen Flickgedichte, welche aus Versen oder Versteilen anderer Dichter zusammengesetzt sind; weite Verbreitung fanden in der Spätantike ja gerade Vergil-Centonen. Aber der Vergleich mit diesen berühmt-berüchtigten Centonen beeinträchtigt die Wirkung der Vergilverse, die Cyriacus in seinen Brief integriert, keinesfalls, sondern hebt sie eher noch besonders deutlich hervor. Denn Cyriacus' Leistung besteht nicht etwa darin, Vergilverse so, wie es im Mittelalter zeitweise Mode war, in Prosa aufgelöst<sup>19</sup>, sondern es vielmehr geschafft zu haben, die ausgewählten poetischen Textpartien auf seine konkrete Lage abzustimmen und nahtlos in seine Schilderung bestimmter historischer Vorgänge einzugliedern. So fügt er zuerst das in der gesamten Antike offenbar nicht belegbare Substantiv *molum*<sup>20</sup> hinzu und verfremdet so gewissermaßen mit der Junktur *soluta e molo puppi* die

Vergilstellen, die er hier voraussetzt. Außerdem ergänzt er zu *tendimus* das Adverb *ilico*, zu *iter* das Adjektiv *iucundum* sowie das Pronomen *nostrum* und präzisiert ferner *portum* durch die Spezialangabe *insignem placidumque Thasii* und ἱερὰμουλήντε<sup>21</sup>. *Diu felici sub Gatalusiae gentis imperio valere* im Schlußsatz bezieht sich auf das vorhergehende Epigramm auf F. Gatalusius<sup>22</sup>. *Ciemus* dagegen, das übergeordnete Prädikat, ist ein Wort, das wiederum bei Vergil und in der antiken Dichtung generell oft vorkommt<sup>23</sup>, aber anscheinend nicht in der Konstruktion, wie die Cyriacus hier bietet: Von *ciemus* ist ein defektiver a.c.i. abhängig, da man zu *valere* aus dem vorhergehenden Satzteil den zugehörigen Subjektsakkusativ ergänzen muß<sup>24</sup>.

Der Einfluß der Vergilverse *Aen.* 7,5-7, die Cyriacus hier adaptiert, reicht indes noch viel weiter<sup>25</sup>. Zunächst zitiert Cyriacus sogar die auf *Aen.* 7,7 direkt folgenden zwei Verse (8-9)

*Aspirant aurae in noctem nec candida cursus  
luna negat, splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus*

vollständig so, als ob sie ein Stück Prosa wären (Z. 1112/3). Tatsächlich benutzt Cyriacus darüber hinaus den gesamten auf *Aen.* 7,9 folgenden Passus, nämlich die V. 10-23, als Folie seiner analogen Darstellung im vorliegenden Prosabrief (Z. 1114-1120). Freilich sind die Querverbindungen dieser Textpartie zu *Aen.* 7,10-23 auf den ersten Blick nicht leicht erkennbar, so daß die betreffenden literarischen Beziehungen auch Bodnar-Mitchell ganz entgingen. Denn der erste Satz bei Cyriacus lautet: *Tum placidi Neptuni liquidum sulcando campum Thassianam protinus arcem ostendimus Thraciaeque fines legimus et saevi proxima Diomedis radimus littora, quem suis immanibus equis advenas ad mandendum dare solitum accepimus* (Z. 1114-7). Im Gegensatz zu den vorhergehenden, scheinbar wie Prosasätze verwendeten beiden Vergilversen handelt es sich hier wirklich um einen normalen und einfachen Prosasatz; denn er enthält nur drei parataktisch angeordnete kurze Satzglieder (*ostendimus—legimus—radimus*), woran sich ein Relativsatz anschließt. Mit dem Ausdruck *placidi Neptuni liquidum sulcando campum* am Anfang des Satzes variiert sich Cyriacus selbst, nämlich jene zwar teilweise auf Vergil zurückführbare, aber trotzdem neuartige Junktur *placidi Neptuni liquidum sulcavimus campum* (Z. 477). Aber *accepimus* im angehängten Relativsatz bezieht sich nicht auf Vergil als Informanten des Cyriacus, sondern offenbar auf Pomponius Mela (II 29)<sup>26</sup>, nach dem Diomedes seinen Pferdeungeheuern gewöhnlich alle Menschen, die an seiner Küste

landeten, zum Fraße vorwarf. Diese Bemerkung erweckt den Eindruck, Cyriacus schöpfe hier auch sonst aus anderen Quellen als aus Vergils Aeneis.

Sieht man jedoch genauer hin, so erkennt man, daß der Hinweis auf Diomedes und seine gefährlichen Pferde bei Cyriacus die gleiche Funktion erfüllt wie die Charakteristik der Kirke und ihrer wilden Tiere in *Aen.* 7,10-20. Denn unmittelbar nach den V. 8-9, die Cyriacus wörtlich zitiert, fährt Vergil fort: *proxima Circaeae raduntur littora terrae* (V. 10). Auf fast jedes Wort dieses Verses bezieht sich *saevi proxima Diomedis radimus littora* bei Cyriacus: Wie Aeneas mit seinen Schiffen 'nahe an der Küste' des Landes, das die 'grausame Kirke' (V. 19/20: *dea saeva ... Circe*) bewohnte, 'vorüberstriefte', so striefte Cyriacus nahe an der Küste des grausamen Diomedes vorüber; an die Stelle der von Kirke in Löwen, Bären oder Wölfe verwandelten Menschen rücken bei Cyriacus die gräßlichen Pferde, welche die auf Schiffen Vorbeifahrenden bedrohen. Damit nun Aeneas und seine Gefährten nicht das gleiche Schicksal erleiden mußten wie die von Kirke in Bestien verzauberten Menschen, geschah Folgendes (*Aen.* 7,21/3):

*Quae ne monstra pii paterentur talia Troes  
delati in portus neu litora dira subirent,  
Neptunus ventis impleverat vela secundis.*

Genau parallel dazu fährt Cyriacus fort: *Quae ne talia monstra nos pii pateamur homines neve dira littora subiremus, Mercurius ipse noster vela secundis impleverat ventis* (Z. 1118-20). Cyriacus stellt lediglich ein paar Worte um, wie es in seinem Prosasatz (gegenüber einer metrisch gebundenen Wortstellung wie bei Vergil) erforderlich war, läßt den Partizipialsatz *delati in portus* weg und ersetzt *Troes* (sc. *paterentur*) notwendigerweise durch *nos* (sc. *pateremur*), *Neptunus* dagegen—und das ist das wesentlich Neue—durch *Mercurius ipse noster*. Diese Änderung bildet in der Tat das hervorstechendste Merkmal der von Cyriacus hier in Prosa umgewandelten drei Vergilverse. Denn abgesehen natürlich von seinem Bittgebet an Merkur (Z. 414-424) taucht hier zum ersten und einzigen Male innerhalb der vorliegenden Ausgabe der Name Merkurs auf, und zwar mit stärkster Emphase: *Mercurius ipse noster* ('mein Merkur persönlich'). Damit unterstreicht Cyriacus aufs nachdrücklichste, daß nicht—wie bei Vergil—Neptun, sondern vielmehr sein Schutzgott Merkur als der Gott auftrat, der 'seine Segel mit günstigen Winden füllte' und ihn so in schneller Fahrt an der verhängnisvollen Küste des Diomedes sicher vorüberführte.



Diese Metamorphose Neptuns zu Merkur ist um so auffälliger, als Cyriacus noch kurz vorher (Z. 1114) Neptun selbst erwähnt hatte. Aber daß er eine typische Eigenschaft Neptuns auf Merkur überträgt, ist keineswegs aus der Luft gegriffen. Denn in der klassischen Charakteristik Merkurs, die Vergil in *Aen.* 4,239 ff. bietet, findet sich zweimal der ausdrückliche Hinweis darauf, daß auch Merkur Macht über die Winde hat, indem er sie 'aufmuntert' und 'durchschneidet': *agit ventos* (245) und *ventosque secabat* (257). Der Schritt von diesen Aussagen zu *impleverat ventis* (sc. *Mercurius*) lag daher für Cyriacus sehr nahe. So kann es auch kein Zufall sein, daß er das Tempus des Prädikats *implevit*, das bei Vergil zu *Neptunus* gehört, veränderte: Statt des Perfekts wählt Cyriacus das Plqpf. *impleverat*. Damit suggeriert Cyriacus die Annahme, daß sein Schutzgott Merkur ihm bereits hilfreich zur Seite stand, bevor Neptun ihn hätte unterstützen können.

Mit dieser Betonung des hervorragenden Verdienstes seines Schutzgottes Merkur ist Cyriacus' Auswertung des Vergilpassus *Aen.* 7,5-24, welcher ihm in seiner bisherigen Darstellung (Z. 1112-20) als Leitfaden diente, eigentlich abgeschlossen, zumal da er die folgenden Vergilverse (25-28) bereits im Brief an G. Scholarios benutzt hatte<sup>27</sup>. Aber allein schon der Name Merkurs versetzte Cyriacus offenbar in eine so gehobene und feierliche Stimmung, daß er unmittelbar darauf, um seine Darstellung wiederum poetisch ebenso wie rhetorisch auszuschnücken und zu steigern, auch den heiteren Chor der antiken Meer-nymphen, der Nereiden, auftreten läßt: *hinc inde Nereidum iuvante serenissimo choro*. Cyriacus erhöht die Wirkung dieses Zusatzes noch dadurch, daß er aus der großen Schar der Nereiden, die ihn kreisförmig umgaben, acht Namen heraushebt, da die betreffenden Individuen ihm jeweils in besonderem Maße hilfreich zur Seite standen (Z. 1121-27):

*Nam altera ex parte Doris flavaque comis Doto et Galatea secant spumantem pectore pontum, dextera vero ex parte Panopea Amphitriteque et Parthenia Glaucē iucundissime secundabant niveis hinc inde lacertis, natante ac alto ab aequore modulante meque interdum osculis dulciter perrorante nympharum omnium praeclarissima Cymodocea Pherusaque*<sup>24</sup> *desubter optime baiulante carinam.*

Dieser gesamte Nereidenpassus bildet einen in sich abgeschlossenen selbständigen Abschnitt und verdient daher eine Spezialuntersuchung, wie ich sie an anderem Orte vorlege<sup>29</sup>. Hier sei nur ein Detail mitgeteilt, das für das Gesamtverständnis der Passage von grundlegender Bedeutung ist: Statt der unsinnigen Konjektur "ferreamque" (so Bodnar-

Mitchell) muß man natürlich entsprechend der Lesart *ferusaque* (so T als die einzige Hs.) *Pherusaque* schreiben; denn gemeint ist hier die in allen antiken Nereidenkatalogen<sup>30</sup> genannte Nymphe Φέρουσα = *Pherusa*, so daß sich der Umfang der Gruppe der Nereiden, die Cyriacus hier vorführt, auf die runde und aufschlußreiche Zahl von 8 Mitgliedern erweitert.

Unmittelbar nach dem eindrucksvollen Exkurs, wie er ihn mit dem Auftritt des Nereidenchores präsentiert, setzt Cyriacus seine Konzeption der Vergilimitation folgendermaßen fort (Z. 1128-33):

*Et tandem die noctuque placidum aequor secantes Cyriaceum ad celebrem diem  
ante quam sol caeli medium conscenderet orbem, muros arcemque procul et rara  
domorum tecta videmus portumque et piscosa vada, quibus inclytus ille Troianus  
Aeneas profugus conditor nomen indiderat, et nunc Palamedea Gatalusia ingenua  
proles imperat.*

Hatte also Cyriacus vorher (Z. 1106-1120) den Verlauf seiner Reise von Thasos nach Ainos genau parallel zur Fahrt des Aeneas bei Verg., *Aen.* 7,5-24 dargestellt, schildert er nun konsequenterweise das Ende seiner Reise (*Et tandem ...*) analog zu Verg., *Aen.* 8,94-104:

*Olli remigio noctemque diemque fatigant  
et longos superant flexus, variisque teguntur  
arboribus, viridisque secant placido aequore silvas.  
Sol medium caeli conscenderat igneus orbem,  
cum muros arcemque procul ac rara domorum  
tecta vident, quae nunc Romana potentia caelo  
aequavit, tum res inopes Euandrus habebat.  
Ocius advertunt proras urbiue propinquant.  
Forte die sollemnem illo rex Arcas honorem  
Amphitryoniadae magno divisque ferebat  
ante urbem in luco.*

Gleich auf den ersten Vers dieses Passus greift Cyriacus wörtlich zurück, indem er die Junktur *noctemque diemque*, die hier Bestandteil eines in einem Prosasatz kaum nachahmbaren poetischen Ausdrucks bildet, durch die formelhafte Wendung *die noctuque* ersetzt; demgemäß verkürzt Cyriacus anschließend Vergils metaphorischen Ausdruck *viridisque secant placido aequore silvas* zu *placidum aequor secantes*, und die folgende Zeitangabe *Cyriaceum ad celebrem diem*—gemeint ist wiederum ein Sonntag (3., 10. oder 17. Januar 1445) als zugleich persönlicher Feiertag des Cyriacus<sup>31</sup>—entspricht dem Festtag, den Vergil mit den Worten *die illo* und *sollemnem honorem* umschreibt. Noch deutlicher

lehnt sich Cyriacus sodann mit dem Temporalsatz *antea quam sol caeli medium conscenderet orbem* an die Vorlage bei Vergil an: Cyriacus übernimmt fast den gesamten Vers *sol medium caeli conscenderat igneus orbem*; lediglich das zu *sol* gehörige Adjektiv *igneus* streicht er (als sachlich ohnehin überflüssigen dichterischen Zusatz), und den genauen Zeitpunkt der Ankunft in Ainos verlegt er vom Mittag (*conscenderat*) auf die Stunden davor (*antea quam conscenderet*).

An weitesten jedoch geht Cyriacus in seiner Nachahmung der vorliegenden Vergilstelle, indem er sich in seinem Hauptsatz *muros arcemque procul et rara domorum tecta vident* vollständig und exakt an die Wortfolge des betreffenden Satzteils *muros arcemque procul ac rara domorum tecta vident* bei Vergil hält (denn *et* statt *ac* wird man nicht als Variante ansehen können), so daß auch Cyriacus' Prosasatz einen daktylischen Rhythmus aufweist. Aber direkt danach (*portumque* ...) löst sich Cyriacus wiederum bis zu einem gewissen Grade von seiner Vorlage, da er ihr hier nur das entnimmt, was dem Hauptzweck seiner Darstellung dient, nämlich der Parallelisierung der beiden Vorgänge: Wie einst Aeneas in die alte Stadt Rom einzog, so gelangte Cyriacus zum Hafen der von Aeneas gegründeten Stadt Ainos<sup>32</sup>. Wie weit dabei der Einfluß Vergils reicht, zeigt der auf *portumque et piscosa vada* folgende Relativsatz *quibus inclytus ille Troianus Aeneas profugus conditor nomen indiderat*. Denn hier spielt Cyriacus zwar auch wie vorher (Z. 619/20) auf Pomponius Mela II 29 (*eximia est Ainos ab Aenea profugo condita*) an, setzt aber vor allem die dieser Melastelle wohl gleichfalls zugrundeliegende Fiktion Vergils in Aen. 3,13-18 voraus: Mit *nomen indiderat* knüpft Cyriacus insbesondere an den einprägsamen Schlußvers *Aeneadasque meo nomen de nomine fingo* an, während das charakteristische Adjektiv *profugus* in Verbindung mit *inclytus ille Troianus* an die berühmten Eingangsverse der Aeneis erinnert. Mit *et nunc ... imperat*, dem letzten Satzteil, kehrt Cyriacus dagegen zu Aen. 8,94-104 als seiner Hauptquelle zurück: *Et nunc ...* entspricht *nunc Romana potentis ...* bei Vergil (99/100). Wie also Vergil die Stadt Rom als die Hauptstadt des römischen Weltreiches in seiner Zeit (*nunc*) dem frühen Rom zur Zeit des Aeneas gegenüberstellt, so hebt analog Cyriacus hervor, daß in seiner Gegenwart (*nunc*) die kleine Stadt Ainos, die angeblich Aeneas einstmals gründete, von einem Sproß des Geschlechts der *Gatalusii* regiert wurde; dabei bildet die Paraphrase *Palamedea Gatalusia ingenua proles imperat* eine Mischung aus verschiedenen Ausdrücken bei Vergil<sup>33</sup>. So entwickelt hier Cyriacus geradezu programmatisch das Bild einer kontinuierlichen

Traditionslinie vom antiken Troja und Rom bis zur Stadt eines zeitgenössischen byzantinischen Herrschers.

Auch *huc plenis allabimur velis* am Anfang des nächsten Satzes (Z. 1133/4) stellt eine typisch poetische Wendung im Stile Vergils dar<sup>34</sup>. Dagegen fällt der darauf folgende Hauptsatz *et haud mora principes regulos, nam pater Samothracem degerat, amicosque revisi et Arduini cognomine Franciscum, dulcem et amicissimum nobis virum, abs te salutatum feci* (Z. 1134/7) sprachlich-stilistisch merklich ab: Statt des fragmentarischen Ausdrucks *haud mora* erwartet man *sine mora* oder besser *nulla interposita mora*, statt des Akkusativs *Samothracem*, da eine solche Form—sofern kein Vulgarismus vorliegt—nicht von *degerat* ('er hatte gelebt') abhängig sein kann, eine Ortsangabe im Ablativ: *Samothrace* ('in Samothrake'); im Gegensatz zu den vorhergehenden, besonders kunstvoll gebauten und auf die dichterische Ebene gehobenen Prosasätzen besteht der vorliegende Satz nur aus kurzen Parataxen: Von *revisi* und *feci*, den aneinandergereihten Hauptverben, welche in einfachster Form Subjekt und Prädikat enthalten, sind insgesamt lediglich 3 Akkusativobjekte abhängig; eingeschoben ist bloß eine knappe Parenthese (*nam ... degerat*) sowie eine Apposition (*dulcem ... virum*). Dementsprechend teilt Cyriacus in schlichtestem Tagebuchstil und ohne literarische Reminiscenzen dem Adressaten seines Briefes, den er hier bezeichnenderweise zum ersten und einzigen Male direkt anredet (*abs te*), Neuigkeiten mit, die sich auf seinen Besuch in Ainos beziehen: persönliche Begegnungen mit Prominenten und Freunden, von denen er jedoch nur einen einzigen mit Namen nennt. So erfüllt dieser Satz im Unterschied zum Hauptteil des Briefes keine andere Funktion als die, welche Cicero (*fam.* 2,4,1) im Rahmen seiner klassischen Definition der verschiedenen Briefarten als die ursprüngliche und wichtigste Aufgabe eines Briefes bezeichnet, nämlich einen Abwesenden über interessante aktuelle Ereignisse in Kenntnis zu setzen:

*Epistularum genera multa esse non ignoras, sed unum illud certissimum, cuius causa inventa res ipsa est, ut certiores faceremus absentes, si quid esset, quod eos scire aut nostra aut ipsorum interesset. Huius generis litteras a me profecto non exspectas; tuarum enim rerum domesticos habes et scriptores et nuntios, in meis autem rebus nihil est sane novi. Reliqua sunt epistularum genera duo, quae me magno opere delectant, unum familiare et iocosum, alterum severum et grave.*

Rein informativen Charakter gemäß Ciceros Formel *ut certiores faceremus absentes* tragen dann vor allem die folgenden beiden Sätze des Briefes des Cyriacus an J. Pedemontanus: (a) *Praeterea enim Segestrem*

*sociosque una ipsa cum principis rate Lesbeam Mytilenem incolumes applicuisse percepimus. (2) Pannonese vero patriam ad reparandas augendasque copias remeasse, Theucrorumque regem Asiam per Hellespontum revisisse filiumque in Thracia principem reliquisse dicunt.* Typisch ist, daß (a) der erste Satz mit *percepimus* ('ich habe erfahren'), der zweite mit *dicunt* ('man sagt') endet, (b) von diesen beiden übergeordneten Verben jeweils ein Akkusativ mit Infinitiv bzw. zwei a.c.i.-Sätze abhängen, (c) diese Satzteile parallel zueinander stehen (*Segestrem ... applicuisse/Pannonese ... remeasse/Theucrorumque regem ... revisisse filiumque ... reliquisse*), (d) zu allen diesen vier Infinitiven, deren drei letzte Komposita mit *re-* bilden, ein Akkusativobjekt gehört und (e) nur kurze Satzergänzungen jeweils hinzukommen. Diese harmonische Struktur der Sätze unterstreicht die thematische Einheit der Aussagen des Cyriacus: Der Inhalt der Sätze bezieht sich auf die jüngsten Aktionen sowohl eines unbekannten (*Segestrem ...*) als auch bekannter und hervorragender Zeitgenossen; denn mit *Pannonese ...* umschreibt Cyriacus die ungarischen Truppen unter Hunyadi nach der Katastrophe von Varna (10. Nov. 1444), mit *Theucrorum regem ...* aktuelle Maßnahmen des Hauptfeindes, des türkischen Sultans Murad II., und seines Sohnes, des späteren Mehmed II.<sup>35</sup>

Nach dem großartigen (dem *genus grande* zuzuweisenden) poetischen Höhenflug, den er seit Beginn des Briefes konsequent beibehält, verlagert also Cyriacus seine Darstellung in der Schlußpassage plötzlich auf die niedrigste Ebene der Prosa und wechselt von seiner Rezeption bzw. Umwandlung literarischer Motive sowie religiöser Vorstellungen der griechisch-römischen Antike zur Mitteilung neuester Ereignisse während des Feldzuges der Christen gegen die Türken. Cyriacus war über diese allgemeine politische Lage anscheinend so beunruhigt, daß er am Schluß des Briefes—im Gegensatz zu den vorhergehenden Briefen—sogar die obligatorische Glückwunschformel *Vale*<sup>36</sup> vergaß und den Adressaten überhaupt nicht mehr anredet: Der Brief endet im überlieferten Text abrupt mit dem anonymen Hinweis auf ein umlaufendes Gerücht (*dicunt*).

So spiegelt auch dieser Brief die außerordentliche Vielfalt der sprachlichen und sachlichen Aspekte wider, welche man in einer Kommentierung der Texte des Cyriacus beachten muß. Es wäre daher zu begrüßen, wenn Bodnar-Mitchell in der jetzt versprochenen kritischen Gesamtausgabe der Briefe des Cyriacus von 1443-1447 insbesondere die stilistischen und

literarischen Gesichtspunkte in stärkerem Maße berücksichtigten, als ihre vorliegende 'editio princeps' erkennen läßt.

N.

1. Vgl. dazu o. S. 22.
2. Sonst freilich scheint dieser Mann unbekannt zu sein.
3. Vgl. das vorhergehende Epigramm auf F. Gatalusius (s.o. S. 51).
4. Zu dieser Änderung (Bodnar-Mitchell: Κυριακὸν δέ σου) s.u. 56.
5. Diese Datierung ergibt sich aus dem eingeschobenen Satzteil *celebratae Thassiana in aula solemnitatis*, der sich wörtlich auf den betreffenden Passus im Epigramm auf F. Gatalusius bezieht (Z. 1050/1); es handelt sich hier also um die Nacht (*ad sequentem ... noctem*), die auf den 25. Dez. 1444 folgte.
6. Zu dieser Funktion des Imperfekts vgl. Pinkster (s.o. S. 25) 300 ff.
7. Belege im ThLL III 3,494,38.
8. Vgl. dazu den neuen Aufsatz von Bodnar (s.o. S. 22) und o. S. 38.
9. Vgl. dazu u. S. 000.
10. Belege in Cyr. I 52.
11. Aus sprachlichen und metrischen Gründen ist σου (so Bodnar-Mitchell) zu σόν zu berichtigen: Zu Κυριακόν paßt nur das Possessivpronomen σόν, und σου vor οὐκ ergibt nicht nur einen Hiat, sondern bildet auch eine Länge an einer Stelle, wo nur eine Kürze (wie σόν) erlaubt ist. Im übrigen ist eine Verwechslung der Formen σόν und σου paläographisch leicht erklärbar.
12. Vgl. generell (auch zu neulateinischen Reisegedichten) H. Grupp, *Studien zum antiken Reisegedicht* (Diss. Tübingen, 1953).
13. Vgl. die Art. "amplexus" und "complexus" im ThLL und OLD.
14. Vgl. dazu jetzt meinen Aufsatz "Hieronymus, Seneca und Theophrasts Schrift 'Über die Freundschaft'", in *Vivarium, Festschr. Th. Klauser*, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Erg.-Bd. 11 (1984), 257-286.
15. Vgl. dazu o. S. 37-38.
16. Zur notwendigen Korrektur *navarchumque* (oder *et navarchum*) s.u. S. 69.
17. Zu diesem Gesamtkomplex vgl. Pinkster (s.o. S. 25).
18. Vgl. W. Schmid, "Cento", in: *Lexikon der Alten Welt* (1965).
19. Zu solchen Prosaauflösungen antiker Epik vgl. jetzt P. G. Schmidt, "Wandlungen Vergils im Mittelalter", *Vergil-Jahrbuch 1982* (s.o. S. 35), 105-116.
20. Nach dem ThLL VIII (M) gibt es nur *mola*, -ae f. und *moles*, -is f.
21. Zu dieser verderbten Wortform s.u. 69.
22. Text o. S. 52.
23. Vgl. ThLL III 5, 1054, 10 ff.
24. Zu einer ähnlichen Konstruktionsweise s.o. S. 48.
25. Bodnar-Mitchell verweisen zur Erklärung des gesamten Briefes nur auf 5 Vergilstellen: *Aen.* 3,516/8; 5,837; 7,7/9; 8,96/9; 9,102/3.
26. *Regio ulterior Diomedem tulit immanibus equis mandendos solitum obiectare advenas ...* (Hinweis von Bodnar-Mitchell).
27. Vgl. dazu o. S. 24.
28. Zu dieser Berichtigung (*ferusaque* T, "ferreamque" perperam Bodnar-Mitchell) s.u. S. 63-64.

29. "Cyriacus und die Nereiden—Ein Auftritt des Chors der antiken Meernymphen in der Renaissance", *Rhein. Museum*, 127 (1984), Ss. 174-192.
30. So bereits bei Hom. *Il.* 18,43 = Hes. *Theog.* 248. Alle weiteren Angaben in dem in Anm. 29 zitierten Beitrag.
31. Vgl. dazu generell Cyr. I 57, zur Datierung Bodnar-Mitchell, S. 69.
32. Vgl. dazu generell T. J. Cornell-W. Speyer, "Gründer", in: RAC 12 (1983) 1107-1171.
33. Vgl. z.B. *Aen.* 4,255/8 (*piscosos scopulos—Cyllenias proles*); *Georg.* 1,99 (*imperat arvis*); *Aen.* 7,691 etc. (*Neptunia proles*) und *Aen.* 6,648 (*pulcherrima proles*).
34. Vgl. z.B. *Aen.* 5,281 (*velis subit ostia plenis*) und *Aen.* 3,569 (*allabimur oris*).
35. Belege bei Bodnar-Mitchell, S. 69.
36. Vgl. dazu jetzt H. Zilliagus, "Grußformen", in: RAC 12 (1983) 1204-1232, zu den brieflichen Grußformeln 1218.

N.

1106 ἀλληλοῦῖα *canens socios navarchum excitavi*:

Verständlich wird der Satz, wenn wir zu "navarchumque" ergänzen.

T.

1109 *puppe*:

Die Herausgeber haben offenbar irrtümlich die richtig überlieferte Ablativform "puppi" geändert und in den Apparat verbannt<sup>1</sup>.

1. Zur Vergil-Parallele (*Aen.* 3,519 "e puppi") vgl. oben, S. 59.

T.

1110 f. *placidumque Thassii portum* ἱεραμουλῆντε (sic!) *linquentes*:

Die griechische Passage ist verderbt. Klar ist zunächst, daß sie in ἱεραμ-ουλήν-τε zu zerlegen ist, da ein Akkusativ benötigt wird und die Verlesung bzw. Verschreibung von μ und ν geläufig ist. Vom Sinn und Sprachgebrauch naheliegend wäre nun eine Verbesserung zu ἱερὰν πόλιν τε (vgl. z.B. ἱερὴ πόλις *Ilias* A 366). Paläographisch näher (nur o für α, Akzent bleibt gleich) ist jedoch eine Korrektur von ουλήν zu αὐλήν; "aula" für den Hof des Fürsten Francesco III. Gattilusio schreibt Ciriaco auch sonst: 759, 970, 1053, 1100.

T.

### *Verzeichnis mittelalterlicher Wörter, Wortformen und Bedeutungen*

DuC = Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* I-X (Paris 1883-87).

Blaise = A. Blaise, *Lexicon latinitatis medii aevi* (Turnhout 1975)

Niermeyer = J. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden 1976).

- acropolis* (ἀκρόπολις), “summa civitatis arx” 725  
*acrotereus*, des Vorgebirges. “ripa” 950  
*agraphus* (ἄγραφος), unbeschrieben. 718  
*anteporticus*, Vorhalle. 970  
*basileus* (βασιλείος), kaiserlich. “triremis” 473  
*commentum*, Kommentar. 933. DuC, Niermeyer  
*Cyriaceus dies* (κυριακή ἡμέρα), Sonntag. 255 (“Kyriaceus”), 485, 1128  
*despotes* (δεσπότης), höchster Titel nach dem byz. Kaiser. 4. DuC  
*ecclesiarches* (ἐκκλησιάρχης), Küster. 893, 896, 960, 1016, 1026. DuC  
*Eleusa* (ἐλεοῦσα), die Mitleidige (von Maria). 926  
*favitare*, begünstigen. 423, 503, 512  
*frontispicium*, Vorderansicht, Vorderseite. 247, 970, S. 62 Anm. 33. DuC, Blaise  
*heremitus*, Einsiedler-. “monasteria” 865  
*hieromonachus* (ἱερομόναχος), Priestermonch. 872 (“ierom.”), 929. DuC  
*lista*, Leiste, Gesimsstreifen, Fries. 557. DuC  
*lychnarium* (λυχνάριον), Leuchter. 968  
*marmorigenus*, Marmor hervorbringend. “insula” 429 u. 474  
*misericordiosus*, barmherzig. 926. DuC, Blaise  
*molum* (statt *moles*), Hafen. 1109. DuC  
*Niceana*, die Siegreiche (von Maria). 926  
*paries* (fem., vgl. it. la parete), Wand. 245 Var., 253 Var., 327 Var.  
*plurigenus*, mehrfacher Art. “linguae” 1062  
*pneumaticus* (πνευματικός), geistlicher Vater. 930  
*porphyreus* (πορφύρεος), aus Porphyrt. 964, 1018  
*Porphyrogen(n)itus* (πορφυρογέννητος), Beiname kaiserlicher Nachkommen. 3.  
 DuC  
*postillae*, Erläuterungen. 889. DuC, Blaise  
*praedigne*, respektvoll. 510. -us Blaise  
*prohegumenus* (προηγούμενος), Exabt. 877, 960  
*quaterdenus*, vierzigster. 1057, 1096. Blaise; DuC (*quaterdena* = *quadragesima*)  
*quatricentenus*, vierhundertster. 1057, 1096. Vgl. DuC *quatricentum* = *quadringenti*  
*secretarius*, Sekretär. 624. DuC, Blaise, Niermeyer  
*semifractus*, halb zerbrochen. 337. Blaise (*entrecoupé*)  
*serpentinus*, Serpentin-. lapis 311 Var.  
*veges*, -etis (fem.), Weinfuß. 898. DuC, Niermeyer  
*veternitas*, Alter. 308 Var., 551 Var., 687 Var.  
*vocabulary*, Wörterverzeichnis. 890



Damian Riehl LEADER

## JOHN ARGENTEIN AND LEARNING IN MEDIEVAL CAMBRIDGE

John Argentein M. A. and D. D. of Cambridge, royal physician, and provost of King's in the early sixteenth century, has in recent years been rescued from the obscurity of college antiquarianism through the efforts of Mr. Dennis E. Rhodes. In two articles and later a small monograph he has gathered evidence of Argentein's career at King's, his medical study and royal practice, constructed a catalogue of his varied library, and printed, without commentary, a poem which Argentein wrote when completing his arts course at Cambridge<sup>1</sup>. In the present article I would like to reconstruct his Cambridge activities in the light of further evidence, and present an annotated edition of his poem. The poem especially bears closer examination as the only extensive contemporary description of fifteenth century liberal arts studies in Cambridge. It provides a revealing glimpse at the work of a student and teacher in the medieval university of the 1460's, a generation before the arrival of John Fisher and the statutory reforms of university teaching<sup>2</sup>.

Argentein was born in Bottisham, Cambridgeshire in 1442. Of his family background nothing is known, and he first appears as a scholar of Eton College, where he took the statutory oath at age fifteen in February 1458. In the autumn of that year he entered King's College, following the path between those schools established by Henry VI when he founded them in 1441<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> D. E. Rhodes, "Provost Argentine of King's and His Books", *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* II (1954), 205-212; "The Princes in the Tower and their Doctor," *English Historical Review* LXXVII (1962), 304-306; *John Argentine, Provost of King's* (Amsterdam, 1967). Poem in Appendix C, pp. 28-40.

<sup>2</sup> See my article "Professorships and Academic Reform in Cambridge: 1488-1520," *Sixteenth Century Journal* XIV (1983), 215-227.

<sup>3</sup> W. Sterry, *Eton College Register, 1441-1698* (Eton, 1943), p. 10; A. B. Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 15-16.

The young Argentein probably did much of his early study within the college walls, as King's provided instruction that reduced students dependence on public lectures (although not on the statutory public disputations). College fellows were chosen to teach in the liberal arts, theology, law, medicine, and astronomy. The classes for Kingsmen studying the liberal arts usually had five to nine members, who each paid their supervisor 16d. (if undergraduates) and 20 d. (if bachelors) per term. In his Michaelmas term as a freshman Argentein was one of four under the academic supervision of William Wyche, to whom he paid his 16 d. "pro lectione"<sup>4</sup>. Wyche had come up from Eton seven years earlier, and had taken his B. A. in 1456-57. He already had a year's experience teaching King's undergraduates when Argentein came up, and was twenty-six years old. Wyche taught within the college over the next decade, preceding Argentein by a few years in the theology faculty, and in the posts of college arts dean and university proctor. When he died in 1476 he left the college library a typical fifteenth-century selection of texts; Aristotle's *Ethics* and natural philosophy, John Dedecus' commentary on the *Ethics*, *quaestiones* on Aristotle's *Meteors*, and in theology Duns Scotus' *Quodlibeta*, the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, and Scotus' commentary on them<sup>5</sup>. Argentein's studies under Wyche were probably typical of the arts curriculum of the time.

Argentein took his B. A. in 1462, incepted for his M. A. in 1465-66 when twenty-four years old, and then began his study of theology. At the same time he was required by university statute to lecture for two years after incepting as a regent master in the Public Schools. This rule was, by the latter half of the fifteenth century, no longer rigorously enforced<sup>6</sup>. But it is certain Argentein taught liberal arts within King's in 1467-68, for which he was paid £2<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *History of the County of Cambridgeshire*, edited by J. P. C. Roach, 6 vols (London, 1938-78), III, 384; The King's statutes are printed in *Documents Relating to the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, edited by Her Majesty's Commissioners, 3 vols (London, 1852), II, 481-627; King's College Muniments, *Mundum Books*, III, f. 80<sup>v</sup>. There is a gap in these records from 1459-1467. I would like to thank the Provost and Fellows of King's College for allowing me to consult these materials, and especially the Archivist, Mr. Arthur Owen, for his assistance.

<sup>5</sup> Emden, *Biographical Register*, p. 654.

<sup>6</sup> J. M. Fletcher, "The Teaching of Arts at Oxford, 1400-1520," *Paedagogica Historica* VII (1967), 421-429. The evidence at Cambridge is similar.

<sup>7</sup> King's College Muniments, *Mundum Books* V, f. 67<sup>v</sup>, "Item Mr. Argentyne lecturis suis infra collegio hoc anno ... 40s."

Argentein took his B. D. in 1472-73, and served as senior proctor, the chief administrative officer of the university, in that year as well. He was ordained an acolyte in King's College chapel in September 1473, and served as the dean of arts of King's that academic year, and again in 1476-77. The deans (one in theology and two in arts) were responsible for student discipline, and also supervised the daily disputations in their areas that were held in the college hall<sup>8</sup>. Argentein was absent from Cambridge between October 1473 and August 1476, during which time he almost certainly went to Padua to continue the study of medicine which he had begun while still in the faculty of arts at Cambridge. While in Padua he had compiled for his use New College, Oxford MS. 162, a collection of medical and astronomical works. He returned to Cambridge with this manuscript, which was shortly afterwards acquired by William Worcester, the lay scholar<sup>9</sup>. In his later life Argentein always signed his books "Questo libro e mio zuoan Argentein", using the Venetian dialect spoken at Padua<sup>10</sup>. He was not the first fellow of King's to study below the Alps, as John Duket (who was to precede him as provost between 1499 and 1501) had studied at both Padua and Bologna from 1464 to 1469 (doctor of Canon Law, 1469)<sup>11</sup>. Duket returned to Cambridge to do theology, where he doubtless met Argentein, and could well have encouraged him as to the prospects in Italy.

Argentein resigned his fellowship at King's in 1478 and went into the medical service of the king. He was the last attendant to see the young King Edward V alive in the Tower<sup>12</sup>. He continued in the service of Richard III and later Henry VII, who made him dean of the chapel of Windsor and physician to Prince Arthur. He held a number of benefices from 1485, and returned to Cambridge in 1501 to succeed John Duket as

<sup>8</sup> *Documents of Cambridge* II, 524-525 and 551-554.

<sup>9</sup> Oxford, New College MS. 162, f.ii<sup>v</sup> includes the annotation "Iste liber pertinet Willelmo Wyrcestre de castre quondam prope Jermuth" (in his own hand).; f. 31<sup>v</sup> has an explicit by the scribe "Cornelius de Mera filius adriani Johannis necnon de Zuutbemlandia (= Zuidbeveland) ad laudem dei omnipotentis, Padua." Following this is a note in Worcester's hand, "Explicit Arnoldus de nova villa. Secundum relacionem M. Argentyn." William Worcester shared Argentein's interests in medicine and astronomy. See K. B. McFarlane, "William Worcester: A Preliminary Survey," in *Studies Presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson* (London, 1957), pp. 196-221, and R. Sabbadini, *Epistolario di Guarino Veronese*. 3 vols. (Venice, 1915-19; reprinted Turin, 1967) III, 446: Cornelius de Mera copied another Oxford manuscript (Canon. misc. 452) in Venice, January 1463.

<sup>10</sup> See Facsimile in Rhodes, *John Argentein*, plate 5.

<sup>11</sup> Emden, *Biographical Register*, pp. 190-191.

<sup>12</sup> Rhodes, "Provost Argentine", pp. 12-13.

provost. In 1504 he took the D. D. at the age of sixty-two, and remained provost until his death in 1508, three years before Erasmus took up residence next door at Queens' College. In his will he made provision for a chantry in the college chapel (where his sepulchre brass can still be seen), and for the preaching of annual sermons in Cambridge and elsewhere <sup>13</sup>.

The most interesting production of this well connected and travelled physician and priest is his poem entitled "Actus Magistri Johannis Argentyn publici habitus in Universitate Cantabrigiae contra omnes regentes huius universitatis quoad oppositionis anno christi 1470".

It survives in two examples; British Library, Cotton MS. Julius F. vii, 165<sup>r</sup>-166<sup>r</sup>, and Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS. 255, f. 43<sup>r-v</sup>.

The London manuscript is the earlier, and was transcribed by the aforementioned William Worcester, who included it in his commonplace along with several other Cambridge items. The Oxford manuscript includes seventy-nine articles collected by Brian Twynne, the early seventeenth-century antiquarian and first archivist of Oxford. He originally copied the poem (in his clear, humanist hand) <sup>14</sup> from an exemplum lacking lines 1-3 and 171-176. Later he checked his copy against the Cotton manuscript and added the missing lines in a more difficult cursive hand <sup>15</sup>.

The poem itself, of 154 lines, includes a four line introduction and a six line conclusion, with the body composed of twelve, twelve line "cantus" for each of the seven liberal arts, the three philosophies, and perspective and medicine. Argentein might have chosen the format because of the rich symbolism of the number twelve. The 144 lines that form the body of the work are in an idiosyncratic meter, whereas the four lines of introduction and six of conclusion (which might have been an afterthought) are written in very consciously neo-classical dactylic hexameters.

The poem includes, besides its descriptive title, a note explaining that it was written to be presented "in comitiis", which was a part of the

<sup>13</sup> King's College Muniments, *Ledger Book* I, f. 212<sup>r</sup> (25 January 1508). A "salario Mr. Argentein" of 13 s. 4 d. was to be paid to one of the fellows for this sermon "Cantabrigiae et aliis locis" every term into at least the seventeenth century.

<sup>14</sup> Twynne's two hands can be compared on ff. 55<sup>r</sup> and 59<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> See marginal notes of f. 1<sup>r</sup>, "... sed in exemplo Cottoniano ..." Twynne, in his fanciful account of Argentein, attributed these lines to Worcester (T. Fuller, *History of the University of Cambridge*, ed. M. Prickett and T. Wright [London, 1840], pp. 135-137).

inception ceremony by which a bachelor became a master. It began with a solemn evening disputation in the Schools between a master, who posed arguments that had been announced earlier in the day, and the inceptors, who responded to him in turn. The next day (the first Tuesday in July) was the *comitia maxima*, held in Great Saint Mary's Church. It began with a Mass, which was followed by the senior inceptor reading a philosophy text, and then saying "ex isto textu eliciuntur duo articuli ad presens disputandi". He then presented the two articles (*quaestiones*) and was opposed by the regent masters present, with the determination given at the end by the youngest doctor of the faculty of theology. This procedure was then repeated by each inceptor<sup>16</sup>.

Argentein states in this explanatory note that he composed the poem at the time of his inception to be presented *in comitiis*, but that later he realized that he had to bring *quaestiones* instead. This could not have been meant literally, as *quaestiones* were the basis of any disputation, and Argentein would have already participated in many before inception. The poem was probably an introduction to his act, and the word "... publice habitus contra omnes regentes..." shows that he did present it. By the seventeenth century it was the custom for inceptors to prepare verses to introduce their *quaestiones*<sup>17</sup>. The date 1470 is also incorrect, unless it refers only to the first ten lines (all in the past tense). Argentein's permission to incept was given in 1465-66. That he did incept that year is clear from the title *magister* used for him in the King's accounts<sup>18</sup>.

Although of little literary interest and in awkward Latin<sup>19</sup>, the poem gives a unique insight into how a student conceptualized his studies. The curriculum was still thought of in the late antique scheme, although by the fifteenth century the majority of the arts student's time was taken up with logic and natural philosophy. The former subsumed much of grammar and rhetoric, and the latter was given more prominence than moral philosophy or metaphysics. The separation of perspective from

<sup>16</sup> This ceremony is described by Matthew Stokys, a mid-sixteenth century bedel, in his diary. See G. Peacock, *Observations on the Statutes of the University of Cambridge* (London, 1841), pp. xx-xxx.

<sup>17</sup> Peacock, *Observations* pp. lxxi and lxxxv. Examples of commencement poems printed on broadsides in the 1580's are in Cambridge University Library, Sel.1.11.

<sup>18</sup> *Grace Book A*, ed. by S. M. Leathes (Cambridge, 1897), p. 53, and King's College Muniments, *Mundum Books IV*, f. 12'.

<sup>19</sup> "The verses are obscure and cannot be translated into readable modern English". Rhodes, "Provost Argentine", p. 28.

geometry to form a fifth “quadrivial” science (or *scientia mathematicalis*, as they were known in Cambridge) was not uncommon in late medieval university study. And, these mathematical sciences were not given priority in most student’s programs, as they would be after 1500. But for Argentein they had a greater importance since these sciences, and especially astronomy, were propaedeutic for medicine.

Argentein’s study of medicine while still in the faculty of arts was unusual, as medicine formed a separate, superior faculty in which he never matriculated. That faculty itself enjoyed only a shadowy existence in medieval Oxford and Cambridge, graduating physicians infrequently<sup>20</sup>. Argentein’s teacher in this area was William Ordew, a fellow of King’s from 1452-67, M.A. 1456-57 and M.B. 1462. He was a paid lecturer in both medicine and astronomy within the college in 1457-58, perhaps until he left in 1467. These were lectures that Argentein could freely attend without matriculating in the faculty of medicine<sup>21</sup>. And his training seems to have included “clinical” observation as well. In the 1470’s after having returned from Italy, he compiled a book of fifteen short medical treatises which he transcribed, and one of his own composition, a “*Loci communes, seu liber de morbis et medicinis, ordine alphabetico depositis*”. In it he gives examples of cures which he witnessed in Cambridgeshire, including one performed by William Ordew<sup>22</sup>. In the medical cantus of his poem Argentein demonstrates his knowledge of the Hippocratic/Galenic theories of the balancing of humors and the importance of diet. The physician, he says, “fishes in the treetops” if he tries to help his patient by favoring one aspect only, such as the thickening of the blood<sup>23</sup>.

The meaning of Argentein’s poem is often hidden in obtuse terminolo-

<sup>20</sup> In the late 1460’s the faculty of medicine offered few lectures. William Skelton was granted a grace for his incomplete classwork in that faculty in 1469-70, “propter defectum doctoris legentis ...” *Grace Book A*, p. 77.

<sup>21</sup> Emden, *Biographical Register*, p. 435, and King’s College Muniments, *Mundum Books* iii, f. 81<sup>v</sup> (1457-58).

<sup>22</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole MS. 1437, item 15 (the pagination is confused). This is quoted in Rhodes, “Provost Argentine”, p. 17, and several extracts are printed in W. H. Black, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts bequeathed ... by Elias Ashmole* (Oxford, 1845), p. 1178. The dated cases are in 1471, 1476, and 1477. The manuscript also includes mnemonics of apothecary measures and lists of drug prices, on the back flyleaf.

<sup>23</sup> The college library had medical texts by Avicenna, Averroes, Galen, Almanasor, Cornelius, Gilbertus, and several anonymous works. See M. R. James, *Manuscripts in the Library of King’s College* (Cambridge, 1895), p. 80.

gy. It appears that many of the *cantus* are only meant to demonstrate a facility with the language of the various disciplines. In the first *cantus* grammar is described in a babble of technical words taken from late medieval speculative grammar. Also known as modal grammar, it had nothing to do with elegance, and was concerned with the logical analysis of the linguistic modes of *essendi*, *intelligendi*, and *significandi*<sup>24</sup>. Argentein might have been parodying the terms of this study, for even by the standards of speculative grammar, little sense can be made out of these lines.

Rhetoric describes itself in more straightforward terms. Aristotle's three-fold distinction of the forensic, deliberative, and epideictic forms is attributed to Cicero, and the moral position that the learned orator not be dishonest is also Ciceronian<sup>25</sup>. In logic, Argentein recommends the material logic of Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* for showing the four questions to be asked when seeking demonstrative knowledge, all of which concern the middle term of the syllogism<sup>26</sup>.

In the quadrivial arts the importance of Arabic and antique sources is explicit. Argentein's interest in astronomy is clear from its influence of the *cantus* of both geometry and metaphysics. The approach of the lines on geometry is that it provides the necessary rules used by astronomers like Ptolemy and Arzachel in describing planetary motions<sup>27</sup>. The

<sup>24</sup> The most popular grammar in this field was Thomas of Erfurt, *Grammatica Speculativa*, ed. G. L. Bursill-Hart (Classics of Linguistics 1, London, 1972).

<sup>25</sup> See Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, I. 3. Medieval ideas were more influenced by the arrangement found in the Pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and in Quintilian, which divided the art into invention, diction, arrangement, with the two practical appendages of delivery and mnemonics. King's College Library owned an unnamed copy of Cicero, as well as the *ad Herennium*. See James, *Manuscripts*, p. 81.

<sup>26</sup> The "quadruplex quaerendi modus" is outlined in *Posterior Analytics* II. 1-2. The course on the *Posterior Analytics* formed a specific part of the Cambridge curriculum, known as "intrare in libros posteriorum". This was done after taking the bachelor's degree and before inception (see *Grace Book A*, pp. 89, 98, and *passim*). This practice died out at the end of the century, and was replaced around 1500 by a lecture on the quadrivial arts (see *Documents of Cambridge* I, 382-383). The college library owned commentaries on the *Posterior Analytics* by Giles of Rome (two copies) and Robert Grosseteste (James, *Manuscripts*, pp. 72-73).

<sup>27</sup> Ptolemy was the second-century A.D. author of the *Almagest*, the basis of much Arabic and medieval astronomy, and the *Quadripartitum*, an astrological work. Both were present in Cambridge libraries in the fifteenth century. He wrote no tables, however. Arzachel was an eleventh-century Cordovan whose *Canones* were the "basis of essentially all late European astronomical tables and rules for their use, e.g. the Alfonsine tables". (F. J. Carmody, *Arabic Sciences in Latin Translations* (Berkeley, 1956), pp. 157-162). Argentein transcribed Ptolemy's "Imagines astronomice", in London, Society of

second stanza explains how to one learned in geometry it is possible to determine the volume of the heavenly spheres by knowing their diameter<sup>28</sup>. The *cantus* on astronomy itself speaks of the motion of the constellations (described as eternal in accordance with the Averroists, rather than created as the Christians believed), which were plotted by Thabit ben Qurra<sup>29</sup>. The second stanza refers to how eclipses are caused by the sun and the moon ("chaste Diana"). The other three quadrivial *cantus* are especially dark. In perspective we are told that the eyes are recessed in their sockets, rather than protruding forth, so that they might be better protected. In the second stanza there is an account of how images are brought to the eyes by light rays. The next *cantus* describes an arithmetical game with sets of odd and even numbers, that demonstrate Argentein's knowledge of Boethian arithmetic<sup>30</sup>. Music is similarly obscure, but does show an acquaintance with notation, sharps, flats, and octaves.

In the *cantus* on the three philosophies, the Aristotelian basis of Argentein's studies comes through most clearly in those of moral philosophy and metaphysics. The first concerns ethics and the example of Socrates, and the problem of whether happiness lies in the practice of virtue<sup>31</sup>. The second stanza deals with politics, and the different systems of government. He agrees with Aristotle in seeing a prince who enjoys popular support as the best constitution<sup>32</sup>. In the next *cantus* the metaphysician is one who studies the higher things, rather than matter, and who knows principles, although not all things in their particulars<sup>33</sup>.

Antiquaries MS. 39, ff. 23<sup>r</sup>-24<sup>v</sup>. For the idea that astronomy is "subalternate" to geometry, see *Posterior Analytics* I.9, and Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* I, q. 1, a. 2.

<sup>28</sup>  $V = (4/3) nr^3$ . Euclid's *Elements* was in the college library (James, *Manuscripts*, p. 81).

<sup>29</sup> Thabit ben Qurra was active in Baghdad in the late ninth-century. His works were in several Cambridge libraries, and his "Liber de imaginibus" was copied by Argentein, in London, Society of Antiquaries MS. 39, ff. 19<sup>r</sup>-21<sup>r</sup>, along with other astronomical items. These were in turn copied by Thomas Scalon, M.A. 1503, a fellow of King's under Argentein's provostship. For the question of the eternity of the world, see Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* I, q. 46, a. 1-3.

<sup>30</sup> Boethius' *De musica* was in the college library (James, *Manuscripts*, p. 81).

<sup>31</sup> This point is discussed in Aristotle, *Ethics* I. Copies of the *Ethics* and *Politics*, along with a commentary on the former by Aquinas (two copies) and on the latter by Walter Burley were owned by the college library, as was Boethius' *De consolazione philosophiae* and Plato's *Phaedrus* (James, *Manuscripts*, pp. 74, 75, and 83).

<sup>32</sup> The various forms of constitutions are discussed in *Politics* III-VIII.

<sup>33</sup> Aristotle, *Metaphysics* I.2, "... primo igitur opinamur maxime omnia, ut possibile est, scire, non habentem singulariter eorum scientiam". The college library had the



The second stanza then treats the specific question of how many unmoved movers there are in the heavens<sup>34</sup>. Natural philosophy, however, is dealt with more generally. The animation of matter is ascribed to God in the first stanza, while the second refers to the growth of both plants and human life<sup>35</sup>. The poem concludes with six hexameters in which Argentein hopes that *alma mater* will embrace him, and that he will be admitted among the masters of the university.

It is worth noting that in this rambling description of all the studies in the arts faculty, there is no mention of a Christian God. In the *Cantus naturalis* the animator of life is called "Jove". Elsewhere there are several other references to classical deities. Although the curriculum that Argentein studied at Cambridge was medieval, the form that he used to express it was somewhat neo-classical. King's College was exposed early on to Italianate culture through the benefactions of Duke Humphrey's library, and the travels of early Kingsmen such as John Doker<sup>36</sup>.

In brief, Argentein was an important man at King's and in the Cambridge faculty of arts. He served as both a lecturer and dean in his college and as a university proctor, and the surviving King's accounts provide us with a rare opportunity to see him as both a student and teacher. Most importantly, his poem on the liberal arts, philosophy, and medicine, remains a unique contemporary description of the intellectual life of late medieval Cambridge, only a few decades before the wide reception of newer renaissance and ideals.

St. Edmund's House  
Cambridge.

*Metaphysics*, and commentaries on it by Thomas Aquinas and the Catalan scotist Antonius Andreas.

<sup>34</sup> This is determined in *Metaphysics* XII.8.

<sup>35</sup> The college library had many books of natural philosophy, including Aquinas' *Commentary on the Physics* (three copies), Giles of Rome's (two copies), and versions by the scotist Johannes Canonicus, and John Sharp of Queen's College, Oxford (James, *Manuscripts* pp. 73-74).

<sup>36</sup> A. N. L. Munby, "Notes on King's College Library in the Fifteenth Century", *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* I (1951), 280-286.

L: London, British Library, Cotton MS. Julius F. vii, ff. 165<sup>r</sup>-166<sup>v</sup>.

O: Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS. 255, f. 43<sup>r-v</sup>.

Actus Magistri Johannis Argentyn<sup>1</sup> publice<sup>2</sup> habitus<sup>3</sup> in  
Universitate Cantabrigiae contra omnes regentes huius  
Universitatis quoad oppositionis<sup>4</sup>. Anno Christi 1470.

- Carmina mea quae  
5 composui tempore inceptionis  
meae, contra omnes artes  
quae putabam exhibere<sup>5</sup>  
in comitiis, sed postea  
audivi nos debere  
10 afferre quaestiones<sup>6</sup>.  
Neu sis turba regens nostros tacitura<sup>7</sup> per annos  
hinc canere est animus variis ludendo cicutis.  
Dulcia plectra mihi tua porrige, cantor Apollo,  
ac Stilbontis<sup>8</sup> ope mea fistula personet apte.  
15 *Cantus Grammaticalis*  
Quem largitur ratio voci  
modus attribuens esse quidificum  
externa non perfruitur ope  
sed sine socio sufficit ex se  
20 ponere partem partis in esse  
et modus alter abesse valebit.  
Significandi conspexi modos  
qui partis post plenam essentiam  
voci adveniunt: hosque fatebor  
25 aptae causas fore structurae  
et constructio profluit<sup>9</sup> omnis

<sup>1</sup> "de collegio Regis Cantabrigie" added above in *L* in William Worcester's hand;  
"natus de Kyrkeby iuxta Norwicum" added in a later hand (Emden, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16 gives  
Bottisham, Cambs. as his birthplace).

<sup>2</sup> publica *L*; publici *O*.

<sup>3</sup> tentus *L*.

<sup>4</sup> add in *L*.

<sup>5</sup> exhiberi *L*.

<sup>6</sup> Lines 4-10 are wanting in *L*.

<sup>7</sup> tacturna *L*.

<sup>8</sup> Mercury

<sup>9</sup> prosluit *L*.

istorum ratione modorum.

*Cantus Rhetoricalis*

Infinitam rhetoris arti

- 30 materiam dedit antiquissimus  
Gorgias<sup>10</sup>; sed Cicero triplex  
dat dulciloquus<sup>11</sup> causarum genus  
orator quas doctus habebit  
nec censebitur hic fore mendax.

- 35 Arti indulgens memorativae  
variis signis templa decorat  
quae subtilis fabricat animus  
nec difficilis<sup>12</sup> dedignabitur  
ars haec, studii rhetoricalis

- 40 pars conveniens appellari.

*Cantus Logicalis*

Posteriores perlege libros

illic quadruplex quaerendi modus  
invenitur; sed tamen omnis

- 45 quaestio ad unam poterit duci  
nec proprii erit haec neque subiecti  
inde libet dari quod medii sit.

Et si doctis Palladis arte  
complacuit, quod definitio

- 50 dicens quid medium sit in illa  
argutia, quae generat scire  
pace sua, non id mihi visum  
ea nec philosophi puto mens est.

*Cantus Geometricalis*

- 55 Dux astrorum si Ptolomeus  
et mirandus contemplator  
Arzachel<sup>13</sup> edant tabulas certas,  
de mensura arcusque sinusque,

<sup>10</sup> Gorgias, the fifth-century B.C. orator, was known at this time only through secondary sources.

<sup>11</sup> dulciloquus *L.*

<sup>12</sup> difficiles *O.* To be taken with *ars*.

<sup>13</sup> Argazel *O.*

non tamen omnem poterit quisquam  
60 demonstrare sinum geometricae.

Haeret<sup>14</sup> vulgi mens incerta  
quanta existunt sidera clara.  
Ratio credit, dabitur nulla  
corpora sphaerica qua metimur;  
65 stulta est haec plebs, nam diametro  
nota, dabitur sphaerae quantitas.

*Cantus Perspectivalis*

Capitis fossa quorumdam oculi  
sese immergunt, seque recondunt  
70 huius foveae versus abyssum  
hisque<sup>15</sup> potentia magis inhaeret  
ut possint longinqua<sup>16</sup> tueri  
quam quorum oculi stant magis extra.

Natura potens tam sapienter  
75 teneras condidit oculi partes  
ut rem radio videat recto  
illamque-sibi linea fracta  
offerre valet; tempore que<sup>17</sup> ipso  
formam eiusdem speculum reddet.

80 *Cantus Arithmeticalis*

Imperfectum novimus esse  
numerus quemdam, est alter abundans<sup>18</sup>;  
at ut mediat virtus vitia  
sic hos numeros intercipiet  
85 perfectus, qui nec superans<sup>19</sup> est  
nec inops; primus hiis<sup>20</sup> esto senarius.

Sume quadratum numerum quemvis,  
videas omnes; et si talem  
scindere possis sic, quod<sup>21</sup> ab illo

<sup>14</sup> Dubit *L.*

<sup>15</sup> hiis que *L.*

<sup>16</sup> longinqua *L.*

<sup>17</sup> quoque *O.*

<sup>18</sup> abundans *O.*

<sup>19</sup> superans *L.*

<sup>20</sup> hic *O.*

<sup>21</sup> que *L.*

90 binos facies numeros aequos,  
 nullum fas erit in tetragonos  
 hunc resecare duos aequales.

*Cantus Musicalis*

Sunt elementum monacho teste  
 95 unum, #, quadra, ♭, que rotunda,  
 er distantia maior in his<sup>22</sup> est  
 haec<sup>23</sup> quam servant # et ♭ mollis;  
 nam primam dicemus apothomen  
 quae partem aliam comate vincit.

100 Vario cantu pascitur auris  
 et dulcedine placidae vocis  
 excitat olim musa stuporem;  
 singula collige quae rationi  
 consona fiunt, et probat auris  
 105 et melius in his est diapason.

*Cantus Astronomicalis*

Caeleste solum quod superi tenent  
 aeternisque regunt imperiis  
 claris ignibus astrorum ardens  
 110 patitur motum, quem dedit illi  
 Tebith; parvo vadit circulo  
 aries Phrixi, Libraque simili.

Si fraternis obvia flammis  
 rutilum vultum, casta Diana,  
 115 saepe offendas<sup>24</sup>; attamen olim  
 illic pallens deficiis orbi.  
 Totam hanc maculam solius umbra  
 dat tibi terra; nec iuvat aequor.

*Cantus Naturalis*

120 Quamvis animam dicimus<sup>25</sup> mersam  
 carcere terrae moleque tarda  
 et sit corporis actus physici,  
 non tamen illam sufficit ex se

<sup>22</sup> hiis *L.* The sharp signs are rendered as "a" in *O.*

<sup>23</sup> hec *L.*

<sup>24</sup> ostendas *L.*

<sup>25</sup> debimus *L.*

homo producere<sup>26</sup>, sed Iovis amplum  
125 posse infundit deforis ipsam.

Olim ex tenui virga surgit  
arbos grandis, et ex nuce Phyllis<sup>27</sup>;  
olim rigidum crescit in hominem  
tener exigui corporis infans,  
130 sed non fieret res sic aucta  
foret adveniens nisi corporeum.

*Cantus Medicinalis*

Hic irascens cholera innata  
habito sanguine fiet amator,  
135 hodie sanus, cras morietur  
languens tristem excutiet morbum;  
sic complexio naturalis  
permutari patitur saepe.

Hic pisticulos prendit in ulmo<sup>28</sup>  
140 medicus<sup>29</sup>; totam qui dabit operam  
ut materiam digerat omnem  
et semper cupit ingrossare;  
ars haec duplici lege potitur  
nam modo spissat, modo subtiliat.

145 *Cantus Moralis*

Et si patiens constans Socrates  
qui feralia pocula sumpsit  
habuit morum perfectum habitum;  
is non poterat felix dici  
150 si non de habitu crevisset opus  
cum sine praxi nemo beatus.

Variet terras mobile caelum  
varias<sup>30</sup> servant patriae leges;  
hic electio statuit principem,  
155 hic regit haeres iure paterno.

<sup>26</sup> prudere *L*, later corrected to producere.

<sup>27</sup> An almond.

<sup>28</sup> cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I. 296, "hic summa piscem deprendit in ulmo".

<sup>29</sup> mendicus *L*.

<sup>30</sup> variatis *L*.

Res prosperior publica sub eo est  
principe, quem vult plebs unanims.

*Cantus Metaphisicalis*

- Qui speculatur superos omnes  
160 nil terrenae faecis habentes<sup>31</sup>  
hic metaphisicus<sup>32</sup> entia novit  
sapiens singula; nec sub<sup>33</sup> nube  
latet ens<sup>34</sup> ullum; sed ratione  
ea non noscit particulari.  
165 Non potes orbem volvere proprium  
datum<sup>35</sup> Saturno, nec ferus id facit  
Mars bellipotens: stella nec ulla,  
in corpore sunt substantiae  
bis quinque, quibus spectat hic actus  
170 et tamen orbes numero sunt novem.  
Sic<sup>36</sup> mihi crinitus cytharam concedat Iopas<sup>37</sup>  
Threiciam ut Chelyn<sup>38</sup> Phoebus spondeat Orpheus  
Ac me si foveat canti laeto<sup>39</sup> ubere mater  
exigua ista suis modulabor carmina rivis<sup>40</sup>  
175 Et velit<sup>41</sup> huc conferre pedem sacra turba regentum<sup>40</sup>  
Ut ferat an motis sociem bene carmina nervis<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>31</sup> cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* I. 68, "aethera nec quicquam terrenae habentem".

<sup>32</sup> methatphistus *L.*

<sup>33</sup> sibi *L.*

<sup>34</sup> eius *L.*

<sup>35</sup> date *L.*

<sup>36</sup> si *L.*

<sup>37</sup> cf. Virgil, *Aeneid* I. 740-741, "... cithara crinitus Iopas/personat aurata ..."

<sup>38</sup> Thelim *O* and *L.*

<sup>39</sup> caute laeto *O* and *L.*

<sup>40</sup> These words are cut off in *L.*

<sup>41</sup> —Evelit *L.*

I would like to thank Prof. C.J. McDonough of Trinity College, Toronto, and Mr. Paul Mankowski of Campion Hall, Oxford, for their help with this edition.

Anna MODIGLIANI

UN NUOVO MANOSCRITTO DI PIETRO CARMELIANO:  
LE "EPISTOLAE" DELLO PSEUDO-FALARIDE NELLA TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY  
DI DUBLINO

La collezione di manoscritti conservata presso il Trinity College di Dublino, ben nota per i preziosissimi codici in insulare, comprende anche un piccolo nucleo di manoscritti italiani del XV secolo, che meriterebbero di essere studiati sia per la loro origine italiana, sia come testimonianza della diffusione della cultura umanistica nell'Europa del nord. Tra questi—anche se probabilmente non fu scritto in Italia, ma da un italiano in Inghilterra—si può collocare il TCD 429, un elegante codicetto pergameneo in umanistica corsiva, che contiene le *Epistolae* dello pseudo-Falaride nella traduzione di Francesco Griffolini. Il *colophon* lo attribuisce a Pietro Carmeliano<sup>1</sup>, figura già nota agli studiosi della cultura inglese del Rinascimento e anche ai paleografi, che gli hanno riconosciuto un ruolo di primaria importanza nella diffusione della scrittura umanistica in Inghilterra<sup>2</sup>.

Il Carmeliano, come anticipa il nome d'arte col quale era universalmente conosciuto, era innanzitutto un poeta e come tale, con grande consapevolezza del proprio valore professionale, si presentava ed offriva i suoi servizi. Di origine bresciana (apparteneva alla famiglia Fava), mantenne come costante punto di riferimento politico Venezia durante tutto il lungo soggiorno in Inghilterra. Nacque nel 1451 e non si sa molto

<sup>1</sup> Per le notizie biografiche vedi J. Gairdner, 'Peter Carmelianus', in *Dictionary of National Biography* (d'ora in avanti DNB), III (Oxford, 1917), pp. 1036-1037; M. Firpo, 'Pietro Carmeliano', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, XX (Roma, 1977), pp. 410-413; R. Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 170-172; D. Hay, 'England and the Humanities in the Fifteenth Century', in *Itinerarium Italicum. The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations*, edited by H. A. Oberman and Th. Brady, Jr., Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, 14 (Leiden, 1975), pp. 305-367 (p. 357).

<sup>2</sup> Vedi L. C. Hector, *The Handwriting of English Documents* (London, 1958), p. 59; A. Fairbank-B. Wolpe, *Renaissance Handwriting* (London, 1960), pp. 29-30.



della sua giovinezza, se non quanto egli stesso narra nell'epistola dedicatoria al poemetto *De vere*, composto in onore del principe Edoardo di York (il futuro Edoardo V), che porta la data del 7 aprile 1482<sup>3</sup>. Carmeliano era giunto in Inghilterra da pochissimo tempo ("nuperrime igitur ad patriam hanc appuli"), ma già da dieci anni era in giro per il mondo in cerca di onori e di fortuna lontano dalla patria. La prefazione tende a dissimulare la reale motivazione di questi viaggi, che era quella di trovare un ricco e potente mecenate all'estero, e ne mette invece in rilievo l'aspetto culturale: "Decimus nempe currit annus, o inclite princeps, quod in speculandis orbis regionibus semper ellaboravi, cumque et provincias et insulas multas, urbes et oppida ac quamplurima loca maritima in orientali plaga transcurissem (*sic*), visum fuit mihi ad occiduas oras transire, ut de iis aliquid me vidisse futuris temporibus affirmare possem"<sup>4</sup>.

Approdato in Inghilterra, con l'intenzione di ripartire presto "ad Cymbros, deinde ad Germanos", si era trattenuto invece nell'isola: "Sed tanta profecto huiuscae (*sic*!) patriae amoenitate atque dulcedine sum captus, ut ab ea nesciam quovis pacto discedendi occasionem quaerere"<sup>5</sup>. Non è facile stabilire quali siano stati i contatti che Carmeliano ebbe in Inghilterra, le ragioni che lo spinsero fin dai primi tempi, se non addirittura a decidere di fissare definitivamente lì la sua dimora, quanto meno a tentare ogni possibile via per trovare un appoggio ed un impiego presso la corte. Certo è che egli si rese conto molto presto del fatto che la sua cultura umanistica<sup>6</sup> e la sua origine italiana gli avrebbero favorito una brillante carriera e assicurato quegli onori e quella gloria che forse in patria non avrebbe ottenuto con altrettanta sicurezza. Gli inizi non furono facili, a causa dei gravi problemi economici che Carmeliano ricorda anche negli ultimi versi del *De vere*<sup>7</sup>. Ma presto giunsero i primi segni di apprezzamento da parte del principe, come appare dall'aggiunta

<sup>3</sup> London, British Library, Royal 12.A.XXIX, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>v</sup>. La data si legge al f. 2<sup>v</sup>. Su questo codice vedi oltre, p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> Royal 12.A.XXIX, f. 2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Royal 12.A.XXIX, f. 2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Nell'epistola prefatoria al *De vere* Carmeliano fa riferimento ai suoi studi giovanili e dice di essersi dedicato "... ab ineunte aetate arti tum poeticae tum oratoriae, historiis quoque et annalibus omni studio atque diligentia ..." (Royal 12.A.XXIX, f. 2<sup>r</sup>-v).

<sup>7</sup> "Me tibi commendo, princeps celeberrime, namque

Me mea paupertas exiliumque premit" (Royal 12.A.XXIX, f. 10<sup>r</sup>).

autografa di alcuni versi di ringraziamento “pro munere collato”, alla fine del poemetto<sup>8</sup>.

Da allora Carmeliano compose diverse operette poetiche in onore dei sovrani inglesi e riuscì a svolgere la sua attività di poeta di corte in maniera continuativa, nonostante i sanguinosi eventi che turbarono il regno in quegli anni. Egli dimostrò comunque una grande capacità di adattamento al mutare delle vicende politiche, e come nel 1484 egli compose un poema elogiativo del nuovo sovrano Riccardo III<sup>9</sup>, che aveva violentemente usurpato il trono di Edoardo V, destinatario del *De vere*, così soltanto due anni più tardi, in un altro poemetto scritto in occasione della nascita del principe Arturo da Enrico VII Tudor ed Elisabetta di York, Carmeliano si esprimeva in termini molto duri e dispregiativi nei confronti di Riccardo III ed esaltava la *pax opulenta* tornata nel regno dopo le guerre civili<sup>10</sup>. Perfettamente in linea con le tendenze storiografiche favorite dal primo re Tudor, la *Laus Angliae* insiste sulle nefandezze e sui lutti che caratterizzarono il periodo della guerra delle due Rose,

“Cum genitrix natum, natus fletetque parentem  
Et fratrem frater, nupta pudica virum,  
Filius et patrem, fratrem quandoque necaret  
Frater, et ira furens iret in omne nefas”<sup>11</sup>.

La figura di Riccardo III, destinata ad essere una delle più ricorrenti personificazioni dell'eroe del male in tutto il Cinquecento inglese, si delinea in questo poemetto di Carmeliano, in maniera già molto netta e consapevole, con i tratti più cupi del *tyrannus*, in contrapposizione con la solare giustizia del nuovo *rex*.

Durante il regno di Enrico VII a Carmeliano furono concessi numerosi benefici e il sovrano mostrò di apprezzare le sue capacità, scegliendolo

<sup>8</sup> Royal 12.A.XXIX, f. 10<sup>v</sup>. Negli ultimi versi del *De vere*, a partire dal primo verso del f. 10<sup>r</sup>, Carmeliano si rivolgeva direttamente al principe, interrompendo la narrazione poetica. Circa nello stesso periodo Carmeliano offrì in dono al re Edoardo IV un'edizione veneziana del *De oratore* di Cicerone (GW 6749, stampata da Andrea de Paltasichis nel 1478), annotata sui margini e con l'aggiunta manoscritta di un poemetto di dedica al sovrano. La copia, conservata nella biblioteca della cattedrale di Ely, è ora andata perduta (vedi T. Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica* (Londini, 1748), p. 155; Weiss, *Humanism in England*, p. 171).

<sup>9</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc. 501, e Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 196. Vedi oltre, pp. 92-93.

<sup>10</sup> London, British Library, Add. 33736, f. 9<sup>r</sup>, per il quale vedi oltre, p. 93.

<sup>11</sup> Add. 33736, f. 2<sup>r</sup>.

come segretario latino ed affidandogli delicati incarichi diplomatici. Egli conservò tale carica anche nei primi anni di regno di Enrico VIII, continuando l'attività letteraria accanto agli impegni ufficiali presso la corte. In tutti questi anni Carmeliano rimase costantemente in contatto con la patria d'origine.

*Carmeliano letterato, editore e copista*

Prevalentemente a Oxford, oltre che a Londra, e nei primi anni del soggiorno inglese con maggiore impegno, si svolse l'attività editoriale di Carmeliano. Nel 1483 egli curò l'edizione londinese di William Caxton delle *Sex perelegantissimae epistolae*:<sup>12</sup> dietro al titolo, che volutamente suggerisce l'idea di un'operetta di carattere letterario, si nasconde un testo di interesse schiettamente politico. Si tratta di lettere scambiate tra la repubblica di Venezia e Sisto IV in occasione della guerra di Ferrara, tra l'11 dicembre 1482 e il 14 febbraio 1483. Il voltafaccia del pontefice, che il 12 dicembre 1482 aveva concluso la pace con Napoli, Milano e Firenze, garantendo la conservazione dello stato estense, determinato dal timore che Venezia prendesse il totale controllo di Ferrara, lasciò la repubblica in uno stato di completo isolamento nella guerra contro Ercole d'Este. Quando il papa arrivò a dichiarare guerra ai veneziani, nell'aprile del 1483, per la loro decisione di continuare fino in fondo il conflitto con Ferrara, questi presero una serie di iniziative diplomatiche per trovare appoggi ed alleanze presso altri stati. Oltre che con la Francia e l'imperatore, Venezia prese contatti anche con l'Inghilterra e questa edizione curata da Carmeliano è una conferma di questo tentativo di influenzare gli inglesi a proprio favore. La prefazione di Carmeliano<sup>13</sup>, che riassume gli eventi della guerra in uno stile martellante e drammatico, introduce il testo delle lettere indirizzando il lettore verso un'interpretazione dei fatti che è un esplicito atto d'accusa alla politica di Sisto IV, in difesa dei diritti di Venezia. Non è da escludere che l'edizione sia stata promossa e finanziata direttamente dalla repubblica veneta, per la quale Carmeliano svolse un'importante opera di mediazione presso i sovrani inglesi<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Vedi W. Blades, *The Biography and Typography of William Caxton* (London-Strassburg, 1877), pp. 265-269; G. D. Painter, *William Caxton, a Quincentenary. Biography of England's First Printer* (London, 1976), pp. 135-136.

<sup>13</sup> Vedi Appendice I.

<sup>14</sup> Carmeliano fu il primo dei segretari latini di Enrico VII, che favorì la presenza a corte di poeti e letterati italiani per il prestigio che essi arrecavano alla monarchia (vedi D.

Circa un anno più tardi egli compose alcuni versi di presentazione dell'edizione oxoniense, da lui stesso curata, del *Compendium totius grammaticae* di John Anwykyll, umanista inglese e Master del Magdalen College di Oxford<sup>15</sup>, stampata intorno al 1484 nella tipografia di Theodoricus Rood e Thomas Hunte<sup>16</sup>. I versi di Carmeliano comprendono due brevi carmi: il primo *in operis commendationem* e il secondo al vescovo di Winchester, William Waynflete, che sembra aver sollecitato questa edizione<sup>17</sup>. L'opera di John Anwykyll—dice Carmeliano—ha il pregio della brevità e riassume i *praecepta*, troppo lunghi, di Lorenzo Valla e di Niccolò Perotti.

Al 1485 appartiene l'edizione delle *Epistolae* dello pseudo-Falaride, stampata a Oxford da Theodoricus Rood e Thomas Hunte<sup>18</sup>, di cui si dirà a proposito del manoscritto 429 della biblioteca del Trinity College di Dublino.

Diversi anni più tardi, nel 1508, Carmeliano pubblicò una sua operetta poetica scritta in occasione del fidanzamento tra Maria, figlia di Enrico VII, e Carlo di Castiglia, il futuro Carlo V. Le trattative del matrimonio, avvenute tra il 1507 e il 1508, non ebbero però esito positivo. Ad una

Hay, *Polydore Vergil. Renaissance historian and man of letters* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 4-5 e Painter, *William Caxton*, p. 136). A testimonianza della continuità dei rapporti di Carmeliano con Venezia, si segnala una sua operetta in un manoscritto miscelaneo scritto in Inghilterra intorno al 1517, di soli venti fogli, legato insieme ad una copia del *Compendium super Francorum gestis* di Roberto Gaguin, stampata a Parigi nel 1500, in un volume attualmente conservato nella Free Library di Philadelphia. L'operetta di Carmeliano si intitola *Rumores e Venetiis allati fidelissimis auctoribus anno salutis nostrae 1517, scribente Petro Carmeliano*. Insieme a questa si trovano, tra l'altro, brani del *Supplementum cronicarum* di Giacomo Filippo da Bergamo e brani tratti da diverse opere di interesse veneziano di Marco Antonio Sabellico (vedi E. Wolf, *A descriptive Catalogue of the John Frederick Lewis Collection of European Manuscripts in the Free Library of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1937), pp. 153-154, no. 139; Bénédictins du Bouveret, *Colophons de manuscrits occidentaux des origines au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, V (Fribourg, 1979), p. 69, no. 15396). Il manoscritto, in caratteri gotici, sembra non essere autografo di Carmeliano.

<sup>15</sup> Vedi Weiss, *Humanism in England*, pp. 169-170. Il Weiss suggerisce l'ipotesi che Carmeliano si sia trasferito, dal 1483 al 1485, da Londra a Oxford, dove fioriva l'industria della stampa, e dove forse insegnò anche all'università (pp. 171-172).

<sup>16</sup> E. G. Duff, *Fifteenth Century English Books* (Oxford 1917, d'ora in avanti Duff), 28; GW 2262. Seguirono a questa una seconda edizione oxoniense, della stessa tipografia, sempre del 1483 (Duff 29, C. 5756, GW 2263) e una di Richard Paffraet stampata a Deventer il 4 maggio 1489 (Duff 30, GW 2264). Vedi oltre, nota 42.

<sup>17</sup> Vedi Appendice II.

<sup>18</sup> HC 12886. Vedi F. Madan, *The Early Oxford Press. A Bibliography of Printing and Publishing at Oxford (1468-1640)* (Oxford, 1895), p. 4, no. 2; Duff 348; *English Incunabula in the John Rylands Library* (Manchester, 1930), p. 65; Painter, *William Caxton*, pp. 135-136; Weiss, *Humanism in England*, p. 172.

prima edizione londinese di Richard Pynson, in latino<sup>19</sup>, seguì immediatamente un'edizione in inglese stampata dallo stesso tipografo<sup>20</sup>.

Anche dal punto di vista dell'attività letteraria e di copista, gli anni più fertili sembrano essere stati per Carmeliano i primi del soggiorno in Inghilterra. I manoscritti delle sue opere—tutti autografi—che si conservano sono stati oggetto di analisi più o meno dettagliate sia dal punto di vista biografico e letterario, che da quello paleografico. Autografe sono anche alcune lettere scritte negli anni 1496-1499 per conto di Enrico VII ed Elisabetta di York<sup>21</sup>.

I codici manoscritti di Carmeliano, già noti e studiati sotto diversi aspetti, sono quattro:

1) London, British Library, Royal 12.A.XXIX: PETRUS CARMELIANUS, *De vere carmen ad Edwardum Angliae principem*<sup>22</sup>. Il codice, pergameneo, di 10 fogli, ha un bordo riccamente miniato a foglie d'acanto e frutta sul f. 1<sup>r</sup> e in basso lo stemma del principe Edoardo di York. La dedica ad Edoardo (ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>v</sup>) porta la data del 7 aprile 1482. Il poemetto sulla primavera, in distici elegiaci, fa ampio uso di immagini mitologiche e naturalistiche; negli ultimi versi Carmeliano si rivolge direttamente al principe, augurandogli un lungo e felice regno, dopo quello del padre, e raccomandandogli i propri servigi (f. 10<sup>r</sup>). Alla

<sup>19</sup> L'unico esemplare conosciuto dell'edizione latina, in pergamena, è conservato presso British Library (G. 6118). Il frontespizio ha una miniatura raffigurante due angeli che sorreggono lo stemma reale inglese, molto simile a quella del manoscritto Add. 33736 della British Library, per il quale vedi oltre, p. 93.

<sup>20</sup> Un esemplare, rarissimo, dell'edizione inglese è presso la British Library (C. 21. b. 12). Sulla stampa del poemetto fatta dal Pynson vedi l'edizione, piuttosto scorretta, curata dal Gairdner: "*The Spousells*" of the Princess Mary daughter of Henry VII to Charles Prince of Castile a.d. 1508, first printed by Pynson in two editions, english and latin, edited by J. Gairdner, in *The Camden Miscellany*, IX (London 1893), pp. 1-38; vedi anche H. Ellis, 'Account of a Tract, from the Press of Richard Pynson, relating to the Espousals and Marriage of Mary, daughter of King Henry the Seventh, with Charles Prince of Castile', *Archaeologia*, 18 (1817), pp. 33-39; J. Ames, *Typographical Antiquities or the History of Printing in England, Scotland and Ireland*, edited by T. F. Dibdin, II (London, 1812; ed. anastatica: Hildesheim, 1969), pp. 548-552, no. 671.

<sup>21</sup> London, British Library, Egerton 616. La lettera del 2 luglio 1496 a Ferdinando e Isabella di Spagna (f. 4) è edita in *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII.*, edited by J. Gairdner, I, *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* 24 (London, 1861), pp. 100-102; e riprodotta fotograficamente in Fairbank-Wolpe, *Renaissance Handwriting*, tav. 14 (vedi anche p. 58).

<sup>22</sup> Vedi G. F. Warner-J. P. Gilson, *British Museum. Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections* (Oxford, 1921), p. 4; A. G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 700-1600 in the Department of Manuscripts, the British Library*, I (London, 1979), p. 154 e tav. 831.

fine del poemetto alcuni versi di ringraziamento ad Edoardo “pro munere collato”.

2) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc. 501: PETRUS CARMELIANUS, *Beatae Katerinae Egyptiae, Christi sponsae, vita*<sup>23</sup>. Questo codice, pergameneo, di 18 fogli, ha una bellissima miniatura al f. 2<sup>v</sup> raffigurante Caterina vestita di rosa, con una spada e una ruota, strumento del martirio<sup>24</sup>. Precede il poemetto una lettera di dedica a Roberto Brackenbury, governatore della Torre di Londra<sup>25</sup>; nella lettera si dice che l'opera è già stata consacrata al re Riccardo III. La sua composizione è dunque anteriore all'agosto del 1485, data di morte del sovrano inglese. Carmeliano chiama a testimone il Brackenbury sui motivi che lo hanno portato a scegliere Riccardo III come protettore, e coglie l'occasione per un lungo panegirico del re d'Inghilterra, che alle doti dell'onestà, della prudenza, della religiosità e della giustizia, aggiunge anche quella—fra tutte la più cara al poeta bresciano—di essere “in benemeritos magis liberalis munificusque”. Al Brackenbury, “mecenas” e “protector”, Carmeliano dona un “exemplum” della sua opera, nella speranza che questo possa aprirgli qualche via per ottenere la benevolenza del re.

3) Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, ms. 196: PETRUS CARMELIANUS, *Beatae Katerinae Egyptiae, Christi sponsae, vita*<sup>26</sup>. Copia gemella della precedente, con un'identica miniatura, certamente della stessa mano, questo codice contiene la dedica ad un altro personaggio, sempre molto vicino a Riccardo III. A John Russell, vescovo di Lincoln e cancelliere del re, Carmeliano offre questo altro “exemplum” della sua opera<sup>27</sup>. Del “principale opus” consacrato al sovrano, che non

<sup>23</sup> Vedi H. O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae. Pars II, codices latinos et miscellaneos laudianos complectens*, reprinted from the Edition of 1858-1885, with Corrections and Editions, and an Historical Introduction by R. W. Hunt (Oxford 1973), p. 362, no. 501; Bodleian Library, Oxford, *Duke Humfrey and English Humanism in the Fifteenth Century. Catalogue of an Exhibition held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Oxford, 1970), p. 63, no. 109; O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, III (Oxford, 1973), p. 97, no. 1120, e anche tav. CV; Bénédictins du Bouveret, *Colophons*, V, p. 69, no. 15395; Weiss, *Humanism in England*, p. 171.

<sup>24</sup> Vedi D. Balboni-G. B. Bronzini-M. V. Brand, ‘Caterina di Alessandria’, in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum*, III (Roma, 1963), pp. 954-978.

<sup>25</sup> Vedi Appendice III.

<sup>26</sup> Vedi M. R. James, *A descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College*, I (Cambridge, 1907), pp. 221-222; *Duke Humfrey*, p. 63, no. 108.

<sup>27</sup> Il Russell fu cancelliere di Riccardo III dal giugno all'ottobre del 1483 e poi dal novembre dello stesso anno fino al luglio del 1485 (vedi *Duke Humfrey*, p. 63).

coincide con questo manoscritto né col Laudense 501 e che forse portava le armi reali inglesi, non si ha alcuna notizia se non un accenno in queste parole di dedica ed è probabile che sia andato perduto da molto tempo. Nella prefazione a John Russell il poeta spiega anche i motivi che lo hanno spinto a scrivere la vita della beata Caterina: la ricerca di esempi di vita santa, da contrapporre alla crudeltà e all'ingratitude dei tempi moderni, quando "... neque Musarum neque oratorum inventis vitae alimenta mihi suppeditare possem, nec opem mihi ullam ab his praestari intelligerem, qui et possent et ratione paritatis studiorum deberent ..." (p. 3); il desiderio di dedicarsi a studi sacri. La scelta di Caterina va invece considerata casuale—dice Carmeliano—oppure un segno del destino: "Cum igitur librum de vitis sanctorum in manibus tenerem aperiremque, veluti sorte quadam optulit sese mihi in primis gloriosissimae martiris Katerinae Egyptiae Christi sponsae vita; quam ubi perlegi, ita attonitus miraculorum novitate extiti, ut a lachrimis satis me temperare nequiverim, atque inter legendum sese mihi sponte sua capilli saepius insurrexerint. Hanc itaque devotissimam martirem protectricem meam proprio motu mihi delegi, eiusque vitam sanctissimam in heroicum carmen, collectis omnibus ingenii mei viribus, deduxi" (pp. 3-4).

4) London, British Library, Add. 33736: PETRUS CARMELIANUS, *Laus Angliae*<sup>28</sup>. Il codice, pergameneo, di 11 fogli, ha una ricca miniatura sul f. 1<sup>v</sup> raffigurante due angeli che sorreggono lo stemma della casa reale inglese, sormontato da una corona. Sul f. 2<sup>r</sup> c'è un bordo miniato e in basso il drago rosso dei Tudor. Il poemetto elegiaco, in lode di Enrico VII, fu composto da Carmeliano per celebrare la nascita del principe Arturo, nel 1486. Precede un'epistola ("Petri Carmeliani Brixiensis poetae suasoria laeticiae ad Angliam pro sublatis bellis civilibus et Arthuro principe nato epistola"). Alla netta condanna del predecessore Riccardo III, Carmeliano contrappone l'esaltazione della felicità del presente regno, cui la nascita del principe aggiunge motivo di gioia e di sicurezza:

"... Nascitur ecce puer, per quem Pax sancta resurgit ..." (f. 10<sup>v</sup>).

#### *Il TCD 429*

Oltre a questi codici, tutti contenenti opere poetiche composte dallo stesso Carmeliano, esiste un altro manoscritto autografo del poeta

<sup>28</sup> Vedi Watson, *Catalogue*, I, p. 76 e tav. 846; Fairbank-Wolpe, *Renaissance Handwriting*, p. 54 e tav. 6.

bresciano, contenente le *Epistolae* dello pseudo-Falaride, nella traduzione di Francesco Griffolini Aretino dedicata a Malatesta Novello di Cesena, conservato nella biblioteca del Trinity College di Dublino (TCD 429). Di questo codice nessuno di coloro che—per diversi aspetti—si sono occupati di Carmeliano sembra finora aver tenuto conto, probabilmente perchè la descrizione estremamente sommaria che ne dà il catalogo a stampa della biblioteca non menziona affatto Carmeliano, né come copista, né come autore di alcuni versi di dedica al lettore<sup>29</sup>. Soltanto l'inventario dattiloscritto, in consultazione presso la biblioteca e di prossima pubblicazione, dei manoscritti latini medievali del Trinity College di Dublino, a cura di M. L. Colker, ne dà una descrizione dettagliata.

I due manoscritti di Londra sono datati, quelli di Oxford e di Cambridge appartengono agli anni 1483-1485, e tutti si rivolgono esplicitamente ad un destinatario; il manoscritto di Dublino presenta invece problemi sia riguardo alla datazione, sia per quanto concerne l'individuazione dei destinatari. Non ci sono dubbi sull'attribuzione del manoscritto a Carmeliano, innanzitutto per la presenza di un *colophon*:

“Carmelianus ego precibus commotus amici  
Transcripsi haec propria scripta repente manu”<sup>30</sup>;

e inoltre per quanto risulta dall'analisi comparata della scrittura con quella degli altri manoscritti che si sono elencati.

La scrittura usata da Carmeliano nei cinque manoscritti non presenta diversità rilevanti: un'umanistica corsiva leggermente inclinata a destra, con le aste ascendenti e discendenti piuttosto allungate. La scrittura non è tuttavia mai molto uniforme anche all'interno dello stesso codice e talvolta alle prime pagine, in cui è evidente un intento calligrafico, con poche legature e un risultato d'insieme alquanto disarmonico ed artificioso, seguono altre in cui il *ductus* è più corsivo e più naturale per lo scrivente. La differenza tra i due modi appare molto evidente nei fogli 3<sup>v</sup> (*carmen* al lettore) e 4<sup>r</sup> (inizio del proemio del Griffolini) del TCD 429.

<sup>29</sup> T. K. Abbott, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin* (Dublin and London, 1900), p. 66. Soltanto un accenno all'esistenza di un manoscritto delle *Epistolae* dello pseudo-Falaride, nella traduzione di Francesco Griffolini, a Dublino, si trova in L. O. Th. Tudeer, 'The Epistles of Phalaris. Preliminary Investigation of the Manuscripts', in *Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae)*, ser. B, XXVI (Helsinki, 1932), 1-128 (pp. 116-117). Anche il Tudeer non nomina affatto Carmeliano.

<sup>30</sup> TCD 429, f. 61<sup>r</sup>: *scripta repente* corretto su *repente scripta*.



Caratteristico è l'uso della *L* sempre maiuscola ad inizio di parola e abbastanza tipiche sono anche le lettere maiuscole *P*, *D* e *B*, i cui tratti orizzontali si estendono notevolmente a sinistra. Frequente è l'uso della *o* scritta sopra le parole al vocativo.

Il TCD 429 è il manoscritto più rilevante—fra quelli finora identificati—affrontato da Carmeliano come copista, oltre che l'unico del quale egli non sia anche l'autore (eccetto i pochi versi di dedica che precedono e seguono il testo e che sono con ogni probabilità un'aggiunta posteriore).

Esso si compone di 63 fogli pergamenei di mm. 141 × 207, con 20-21 righe per pagina, e la seguente fascicolazione: 2, 1, I-V<sup>8</sup>, VI<sup>10</sup>, 2. Il foglio 3, probabilmente aggiunto in un secondo tempo rispetto alla composizione del manoscritto, precedentemente alla legatura, è stato rifilato del solidale, che si dovrebbe trovare tra i fogli 11 e 12. All'inizio e alla fine del codice sono stati aggiunti, ed incollati, due bifogli (ff. 1-2 e 62-63). Ambedue sono di pergamena di qualità diversa da quella utilizzata nel resto del codice, molto più scura dal lato del pelo e molto più chiara e levigata dal lato della carne.

Il manoscritto comprende:

- a) *Carmeliani poetae ad lectorem carmen* (f. 3<sup>v</sup>);
- b) Proemio di Francesco Griffolini Aretino al principe Malatesta Novello di Cesena (ff. 4<sup>r</sup>-7<sup>r</sup>);
- c) *Epistolae* dello pseudo-Falaride (ff. 7<sup>r</sup>-61<sup>r</sup>);
- d) *Carmen pro homagio legeo reddendo* (f. 63<sup>r</sup>).

Tutto appare sicuramente autografo di Carmeliano, anche se scritto in tempi diversi, e cioè prima il corpo centrale e poi i due bifogli aggiunti. Il proemio, il testo delle lettere e il *colophon* sono scritti con un inchiostro piuttosto chiaro, marrone, e con una penna abbastanza sottile. La scrittura usata, un'umanistica corsiva leggermente inclinata a destra, presenta talvolta un andamento irregolare ed un'esecuzione più trascurata ed affrettata. La rigatura, eseguita a secco, è molto irregolare e la distanza tra le righe varia notevolmente da un foglio all'altro.

Il *carmen* di dedica al lettore (f. 3<sup>v</sup>) e quello al *princeps* (f. 63<sup>v</sup>) presentano caratteristiche grafiche diverse dal resto del manoscritto, pur essendo sicuramente autografi. L'inchiostro usato è molto più scuro, quasi nero, specialmente nel foglio 63<sup>v</sup>, e il tratto è più pesante. La scrittura è quasi dritta nel foglio 3<sup>v</sup> e in tutti e due i carmi le lettere tendono ad essere più staccate e più vicine ad un modulo quadrato.

Nonostante l'intenzione calligrafica evidente nell'esecuzione di queste due pagine, il risultato è piuttosto artificioso e disomogeneo, mentre Carmeliano sembra padroneggiare con molta più sicurezza la scrittura più corsiva usata nel resto del codice.

La lettera iniziale di ogni epistola è miniata in rosso o in azzurro. Le lettere iniziali del *carmen* al lettore (f. 3<sup>v</sup>) e del proemio di Francesco Griffolini (f. 4<sup>r</sup>) sono rispettivamente: in oro su fondo rosso scuro, con motivi floreali in argento; in oro su fondo rosso e azzurro, con motivi floreali in oro. Le stesse due pagine hanno il bordo miniato secondo uno stile tipico in Inghilterra verso la fine del secolo XV, di origine fiamminga<sup>31</sup>, con foglie, fiori e frutta dalle forme stilizzate, tra i quali dominano foglie d'acanto azzurre o azzurre-marroni-verdi e frutti rossi rotondi, probabilmente fragole. Accanto a questi si dispongono fiori azzurri, rossi, grigi e rosa, con foglie verdi. Negli spazi lasciati bianchi dal disegno e lungo i margini interni e superiori sono delle piccole borchie dorate con contorno nero. Su tre lati la decorazione è inscritta in una doppia rigatura ad inchiostro nero, rosso o oro.

Al foglio 3<sup>v</sup>, al centro della decorazione nel margine inferiore, è uno stemma araldico raffigurante tre teste di leopardo rosse su una fascia dorata, a fondo azzurro. Nello spazio bianco sotto il testo del *carmen* c'è un disegno a penna, non colorato, di foglie d'acanto e fiori molto simili a quelli del bordo. Le due miniature (ff. 3<sup>v</sup> e 4<sup>r</sup>) sono sicuramente della stessa mano, come anche quella che orna il foglio 1<sup>r</sup> del *De vere* (London, British Library, Royal 12.A.XXIX). Può restare qualche dubbio sul tempo di esecuzione delle due miniature del TCD 429, per alcuni dettagli differenti, quali ad esempio le borchie dorate, brillanti nel f. 4<sup>r</sup> e tendenti al verde marcio nel f. 3<sup>v</sup>, la tonalità dell'azzurro delle foglie d'acanto, più pallido in 4<sup>r</sup>; infine la doppia riga ad inchiostro che delimita il bordo miniato dall'esterno forma un rettangolo sensibilmente più grande nel f. 3<sup>v</sup> che nel f. 4<sup>r</sup>. Le due miniature sono comunque state eseguite entrambe dopo la legatura, come dimostrano alcune tracce di colore del f. 4<sup>r</sup> sul 3<sup>v</sup> e viceversa.

A parte queste differenze, che possono far ipotizzare due tempi diversi per le due miniature, resta comunque il fatto che il f. 3 è un'aggiunta posteriore rispetto al resto del codice, come si è detto. E se si guarda al contenuto del f. 3<sup>v</sup>, risulta anche chiaro il motivo di questa aggiunta.

<sup>31</sup> Vedi O.E. Saunders, *English Illumination*, I (Firenze-Paris, 1928), p. 110; J. Backhouse, *The Illuminated Manuscript* (London, 1979), p. 70 e anche tav. 61.

Infatti, oltre ai versi di dedica ad un imprecisato lettore, c'è lo stemma che con ogni probabilità fu fatto eseguire da Carmeliano insieme alla miniatura (come testimonia l'uso dello stesso tono di azzurro), quando egli decise di donare a qualcuno il codice precedentemente scritto.

Ma è proprio l'individuazione del destinatario del TCD 429 che presenta alcuni problemi. Lo stemma, la cui identificazione non è stata facile tramite i consueti repertori di araldica, è stato finalmente ritrovato nello Harleiano 6163, lo stemmario di Peter Le Neve scritto intorno agli anni 1480-1500, che lo attribuisce a "R. Lee, before & after"<sup>32</sup>. Richard Lee, *esquire* di Lee Magna, Kent, figlio di Sir Richard Lee, *lord mayor* di Londra nel 1460 e nel 1469<sup>33</sup>, era padre di Edward arcivescovo di York<sup>34</sup>. Forse non è soltanto una singolare coincidenza che Edward Lee, nato nel Kent intorno al 1482, rimase coinvolto negli anni 1519-1520 in una dura polemica personale con Erasmo da Rotterdam, partita da alcuni problemi di interpretazione dei testi sacri, e che non risparmiò attacchi da ambedue le parti<sup>35</sup>. Analogamente Carmeliano nel 1512-1513 entrò in disputa con Erasmo, che derise il poeta bresciano e in particolare l'edizione di un epitaffio da lui composto contro Giacomo IV re di Scozia, che compariva in una stampa di Richard Pynson del 1513, ora perduta<sup>36</sup>. Questi 18 versi si conservano in un codice che è copia

<sup>32</sup> London, British Library, Harley 6163, f. 47<sup>v</sup>. Vedi anche T. Robson, *The British Herald*, II (Sunderland, 1830), s.v. Lee; B. Burke, *The General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales* (London, 1884), p. 593.

<sup>33</sup> Sui due Richard Lee, padre e figlio, vedi *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office ... Edward IV, Edward V, Richard III (1476-1485)* (London, 1901), pp. 445, 499, 562-563; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office ... Henry VII, I (1485-1494)* (London, 1914), pp. 54, 322-323, 404; e *II (1494-1509)* (London, 1916), pp. 644-645.

<sup>34</sup> Su Edward Lee vedi DNB, XI (London, 1909), pp. 788-790; e anche J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, III (Oxford, 1854), pp. 113-181. Anche Pietro Carmeliano aveva ricevuto una prebenda di York nel 1498 (Le Neve, III, 169).

<sup>35</sup> DNB, XI, 788. Sulla polemica tra Edward Lee ed Erasmo vedi G.B. Winkler, *Erasmus von Rotterdam und die Einleitungsschriften zum Neuen Testament* (Münster, 1974), pp. 94-95; H. Holeczek, *Humanistische Bibelphilologie als Reformproblem bei Erasmus von Rotterdam, Thomas More und William Tyndale*, *Studies in the History of Christian Thought*, 9 (Leiden, 1975), pp. 143-147; M.M. Phillips, *Erasmus and the Northern Renaissance* (Woodbridge, 1981), pp. 120-131.

<sup>36</sup> *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, recognovit P.S. Allen, I (Oxonii, 1906), p. 513 (lettera no. 262 di Erasmo ad Andrea Ammonio, datata Cambridge 9 maggio 1512); in particolare p. 540 (lettera no. 280 di Ammonio ad Erasmo, datata Londra 25 novembre 1513); e p. 541 (lettera no. 282 di Erasmo ad Ammonio, datata Cambridge 28 novembre 1513). Nelle ultime due lettere si parla della recente edizione del Pynson, relativamente alla quale Ammonio aveva suggerito a Carmeliano alcune correzioni. Erasmo risponde ad Ammonio su questo tono: "Sed nae tu homo nimium es candidus, qui belluae istius famae consulas".

fedele della stampa del Pynson<sup>37</sup>. Al di là degli errori di metrica che venivano imputati a Carmeliano, dovevano sussistere più serie rivalità tra i due personaggi, le cui cause vanno con ogni probabilità ricercate anche nelle polemiche teologiche che divamparono in quegli anni in tutta Europa<sup>38</sup>.

Oltre la dedica al lettore e lo stemma, è presente nel codice un terzo destinatario, un “princeps” cui Carmeliano si rivolge con alcuni versi al foglio 63<sup>r</sup> (anch’esso un’aggiunta posteriore rispetto al resto del manoscritto), e del quale dice di iniziare ad essere il suddito:

“*Carmen pro homagio legeo*<sup>39</sup> reddendo

Pro vita et membris necnon et honoribus ipsis  
 Incipio, o princeps, subditus esse tuus.  
 Nam tibi fidus ero, vivam moriar quoque tecum  
 Contra omnes populos et genus omne virum.  
 Denique prestabo tibi quicquid iure tenebor.  
 Sic Deus aspiret sanctaque turba mihi”.

Si tratta certamente di uno dei sovrani inglesi, cui Carmeliano indirizzava questo atto di omaggio per ottenerne la protezione, poco dopo l’ascesa al trono. Non è possibile tuttavia determinare con certezza di chi si tratti, anche perchè resta il dubbio circa la precedenza di questi versi o dello stemma. Non si può escludere né Riccardo III, salito al trono nel 1483, né Enrico VIII, che sposterebbe la data della dedica fino al 1509, ma se si considera che l’edizione delle *Epistolae* dello pseudo-Falaride—anch’essa, come il TCD 429, preceduta dal *carmen* al lettore di Carmeliano—fu stampata ad Oxford da Rood e Hunte nel 1485<sup>40</sup>, sembra fortemente probabile che il destinatario sia Enrico VII, che successe a Riccardo III proprio nell’estate del 1485. Stabilendo così—pur in maniera dubitativa—l’anno 1485 come *terminus ante quem* non soltanto, come è ovvio, per la scrittura del testo e del *carmen* al lettore,

<sup>37</sup> London, British Library, Add. 29506, f. 14<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Vedi Holeczek, *Humanistische Bibelphilologie*, p. 143. Il Guerrini riporta la notizia che la fama attribuiva a Carmeliano la paternità della *Defensio Catholicae Fidei contra Lutherum*: queste voci confermano, sia pur indirettamente, l’ipotesi che Carmeliano non fosse affatto estraneo a tematiche teologiche (P. Guerrini, ‘Pietro Carmeliano da Brescia, segretario reale d’Inghilterra’, *Brixia sacra*, 9 (1918), p. 40).

<sup>39</sup> ‘homagium legeo’ (oppure ‘ligium’) è un termine di diritto feudale. Cfr. J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon minus*, s.v. Ligius e gli altri dizionari della latinità medioevale.

<sup>40</sup> Sull’edizione delle *Epistolae* dello pseudo-Falaride del 1485 vedi sopra, nota 18.

ma anche per la composizione di questi versi di dedica al re inglese, non si può comunque escludere che il corpo centrale del manoscritto, cioè proprio quella parte che è scritta su pergamena più chiara e levigata di quella dei fogli aggiunti in seguito, provenisse addirittura dall'Italia e fosse stato portato da Carmeliano nel suo viaggio in cerca di un mecenate che premiasse le sue doti letterarie.

Resta poi un'altra figura che interviene nella storia—già abbastanza travagliata—del TCD 429, cioè l'amico che, secondo quanto Carmeliano afferma nel *colophon* ("... precibus commotus amici.."), lo ha sollecitato a trascrivere questo testo. Se si tratti di un espediente retorico, o quali rapporti culturali, in Italia o in Inghilterra, si celino dietro questo anonimo amico, non è dato congetturare. Altrettanto difficile da identificare, se non tramite la scrittura, resta colui che, alcuni anni più tardi, probabilmente agli inizi del secolo XVI, aggiunse nel codice due notazioni piuttosto ironiche al riguardo di Carmeliano. Sul foglio 2<sup>v</sup> si legge:

"Victurus genium debet habere liber"

e sotto è disegnato un fiore col gambo ripiegato, simile alla lettera *J*.

Sul foglio 62<sup>v</sup>, di fronte al *carmen* rivolto al principe, si legge, sempre della stessa mano:

"Carmina laudantur, sed munera magna petuntur:  
Dummodo sit dives, Barbarus ipse placet".

E qui l'allusione alla carriera di Carmeliano presso la corte inglese, ai motivi opportunistici che lo portarono a cercare il favore del ricco *barbarus*, ai modi in cui egli si prestò ad un'esaltazione servile dei sovrani inglesi con componimenti poetici d'occasione, è del tutto palese, e anche se non è facile individuare l'autore di questi versi, si può indovinare dietro di essi quel clima di disprezzo creatosi intorno a Carmeliano a partire dal 1512-1513, di cui fa testimonianza lo scambio epistolare tra Erasmo ed Ammonio<sup>41</sup>, il quale già nel 1511 aveva sostituito il poeta bresciano nella importante carica di segretario latino di Enrico VIII.

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<sup>41</sup> Vedi sopra, nota 36. Mentre Ammonio, Erasmo e Tommaso Moro furono in ottimi rapporti con Enrico VIII, Carmeliano subì insieme a diversi altri le conseguenze del disinteresse del nuovo re per tutti quegli umanisti che avevano goduto del favore del padre Enrico VII (vedi Hay, *Polydore Vergil*, pp. 13-14). Su Andrea Ammonio, e in generale sugli

*Appendice I*

Petrus Carmelianus, *Sex perelegantissimae epistolae*, London, William Caxton, c. 1483 (London, British Library, IA 55067)

## [PRAEFATIO]

(ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-2<sup>r</sup>)

- f. 1<sup>r</sup> Hercules dux Ferrarie in eo ducato (*sic*) Venetorum armis constitutus paulo post vetustissimas eorum violat immunitates, init foedus cum Pherdinando rege Neapolitano, Mediolanensium duce et Florentinorum republica, quod per Veneta foedera non licebat. Veneti propria reposcunt. Ille tergiversari. Xystus pontifex quartus, relicto Pherdinandi foedere, Venetis adheret. Indignatus Pherdinandus avertendi pontificis causa eum iniuriis lacessit. Pontifex hortatur Venetos ut Ferrariensi bellum inferant. Inferunt et Pado terraque exagitant. Pherdinandus, acrioribus remediis agendum ratus, dat operam ut Alphonsus filius, Calabrie dux, fines Romanos bello vexet. Xystus auxilium a Venetis petit et terrestre et maritimum. Transmittunt classem validam et preterea grandem pecuniam ad equites peditesque. Pontifex quamvis, si velit, longe superior viribus sit, petit tamen a Venetis Roberthum Malatestam belli ducem. Is cum mille-quincentis equitibus, relicto Ferrariensi bello, pontifici in auxilium advolat. Classis totam oram maritimam regni populatur. // Dux Venetorum Robertus Malatesta Calabrie ducem cum omnibus regiis copiis profligat. Deque iis Rome triumphus actus, pontificem victoriae penitet, quam prosequi haud sustinet ulterius, ne duplici Veneti increscant gloria, et profligati regis et devicte Ferrarie. Statim inter eum regisque federatos de pace ac federe agi ceptum. Urbem Veneti quammaxime possunt urgent, captis circa omnibus fere oppidis cingunt obsidione. Pontifex non solum pacem cum eorum hostibus init, sed novum eciam fedus. Et legatum cum copiis auxilio Ferrariensi mittit, quibus preest dux Calabrie ante profligatus, qui secum quingentos Turcos in bellum ducit. Interea pontifex Venetis scribit, hortatur ad pacem tocius Italie: deponant arma, capta restituant, Ferrariam obsidione solvant. In eandem fere sententiam scribit collegium cardinalium. Veneti et pro dignitate pontificia, et pro indignitate violati foederis, negocium respondendi dant Bernardo Iustiniano militi, oratori, procura-

italiani che frequentarono la corte inglese tra la fine del Quattrocento e gli inizi del Cinquecento, vedi M. Monaco, 'Note per una biografia dell'umanista lucchese Andrea Ammonio (1476-1517), segretario latino di Enrico VIII e nunzio-collettore di Leone X', *Annali dell'Università di Lecce. Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia*, 7 (1975-1976), 87-136.

tori S. Marci, qui et quia eloquentissimus sapientissimusque et quia principem senatus tunc // gerebat, maxime ydoneus ad id ab omnibus est f. 2<sup>r</sup> indicatus.

### Appendice II

John Anwykyl, *Compendium totius grammaticae*, Deventer, Richard Paffraet, 4 maggio 1489, 4<sup>o</sup>, got. (HC 5556, Proctor 8982, GW 2264)<sup>42</sup>.

(f. 1<sup>v</sup>)

Carmeliani poete in operis commendationem carmen

Vos, teneri iuvenes, vestrum celebrate Ioannem,

Qui bene vos docuit verba latina loqui.

Barbara que fuerat prius est nunc facta Latina

Lingua, brevi spacio quam didicisse licet.

Nam que Valla dabat vel que precepta Perottus

Longa nimis, parvus continet iste liber.

Eiusdem in reverendi domini Gulielmi episcopi Vintonie laudem carmen

Te, Gulielme pater multum celeberrime, qui nunc

Ecclesie presul Vintoniensis ades,

Fama canet tantos et te celebrabit ad annos,

Dum fuerit stabili firmus in axe polus.

Hoc opus auctor enim te persuadente Ioannes

Edidit, unde tibi fama perennis erit.

### Appendice III

Petrus Carmelianus, *Beatae Katerinae Egyptiae, Christi sponsae, vita* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud. Misc. 501)

[Epistola di Pietro Carmeliano a Robert Brackenbury, governatore della Torre di Londra]

(ff. 1<sup>v</sup>-2<sup>v</sup>)

Magnifico atque excellenti viro domino Roberto Bracunbure Turris f. 1<sup>v</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Non è stata qui usata l'*editio princeps* del *Compendium*, GW 2262 (vedi sopra, nota 16), perchè ne restano soltanto tre copie mutilate, conservate a Cambridge presso il Corpus Christi College (2 fogli), il Trinity College (1 foglio) e la University Library (3 fogli), che non è stato comunque possibile vedere personalmente.

Londonensis (*sic*) rectori meritissimo Petrus Carmelianus salutem plurimam dicit.

Solent omnes, vir insignis, qui opus aliquod nuperrime ediderint, alicui principi et doctrinas et doctos viros excolenti illud dedicare. Quocirca et ego illorum vestigia imitatus, cum paulo antea libellum de beatae Katerinae Egyptiae Christi sponsae vita composuissem, serenissimo regi nostro Ricardo tercio illum consecravi. Neminem enim eo digniorem principem inveni, cui libellus meus dedicaretur. Sed ne videamur absque ratione maiestatem suam extollere, tu ipse, vir sapientissime, mihi ipsi testis eris an vera vel vana feram. Si religionem in primis spectamus, quem nam etas nostra principem magis religiosum habet? Si iusticiam, quem sibi in toto terrarum orbe praeponendum putabimus? Si et pacis servandae et gerendorum bellorum prudentiam intueamur, quem sibi unquam parem adiudicabimus? Si vero animi tum<sup>a</sup> sapientiam, tum  
f. 2<sup>r</sup> magnitudinem // simul et modestiam inspexerimus, cui regem nostrum Ricardum postponemus? Quis sane christianus imperator aut princeps in benemeritos magis liberalis munificusque comprobari potest? Nemo sane, nemo! Cui magis furta, latrocinia, stupra, adulteria, homicidia, fenus heresisque<sup>b</sup> et alia nephandissima scelera exosa sunt, quam sibi? Nemini plane. Opusculum igitur meum non ab re sue sublimitati ascripsi atque presentavi. Caeterum cum non ignorarem magnificentiam tuam maximae auctoritatis apud suam celsitudinem esse, atque mihi pro sua benignitate plurimum afficere, visum fuit mihi ut eiusdem opusculi nostri exemplum tibi unum hoc Christi natali transmitterem, te quoque rogatum facerem ut serenissimo regi me notum ac commendatum faceres. Scripsi itaque manu propria hoc exemplum, quod in diuturnam mei tibi deditissimi memoriam servares. Quod si in posterum quicquam operis fabricavero, te profecto studiorum meorum et laborum participem faciam.//

Reliquum est, vir egregie, ut me inopiamque meam commendatam habere digneris, velis quoque meus esse mecenas, hoc est protector. Nisi equidem tales viri, sicuti es, mihi opem ferant, ab omni prorsus spe destitutum me esse perspicio. Quod si aliquando maiestati regiae me cognitum feceris, spero illud fore ut perpetuo gaudeas te mihi opitulatum esse. At ne longior sim, finem epistolae faciam et summum mundi opificem precabor, ut te et consortem tuam nobilissimam liberosque felices servet et incolumes. Vale, decus meum.

Parva solent magnis semper dare munera parvi

Parvus ego magno do tibi parva viro.

<sup>a</sup>. tum aggiunto sopra il rigo.

<sup>b</sup>. heresisn que: n cassato.



## POETICA ERASMIANA

### 1.

H. VREDEVELD

#### SIMEAE CAPELLAE

##### A Note on the Text of Erasmus carm. 1,4

In the Gouda manuscript the fourth verse of Erasmus' "Carmen Bucolicum" reads as follows: *Quem circum simeae quondam unica cura capellae/Errant*<sup>1</sup>. The motif is conventional enough, but what are we to make of *simeae*? Alardus of Amsterdam, the poem's first editor, seems to have made nothing of it at all, except that it was an adjective modifying *capellae*, for in his 1538 edition he changed the word to *niveae*—a reading subsequently adopted in the Ms. Scriverius and the Leiden edition of Erasmus' works. The modern editor C. Reedijk, in turn, could explain *simeae* only "as an incorrect spelling for the Greek name Simias"<sup>2</sup> and therefore capitalized the word in his text. This emendation recurs in the 1975 Darmstadt edition<sup>3</sup>, in spite of the fact that, some six years earlier, Jozef IJsewijn had pointed out the now obvious parallel to Vergil, Buc. 10,7: *Dum tenera attendent simae virgulta capellae*, and had proposed to emend the reading *simeae* to the Vergilian *simae*<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Gouda version of the "Carmen buccolicum" [1483] is printed in: Albert Hyma, *The Youth of Erasmus*. University of Michigan Publications: History and Political Science, 10 (Ann Arbor, 1930), pp. 235-237. Cf. C. Reedijk's critical edition, *The Poems of Desiderius Erasmus* (Leiden, 1956), carm. 1, pp. 136-139.

<sup>2</sup> *The Poems*, p. 136, note on l. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Wendelin Schmidt-Dengler, transl., *Erasmus von Rotterdam. Carmina Selecta*, in vol. 2 of *Erasmus von Rotterdam. Ausgewählte Schriften*, ed. Werner Welzig (Darmstadt, 1975), p. 214 f.

<sup>4</sup> Jozef IJsewijn, "Erasmus ex Poeta Theologus ...," *Scrinium Erasmianum*, vol. 1, ed. J. Coppens (Leiden, 1969), p. 379 n. 12. This emendation, as Professor IJsewijn has kindly pointed out to me, had already been proposed a year or so earlier by J. Engelberts during the public defense of his *Macropedius* thesis. The emendation is accepted by W. D. Lebek, "Corrections and Explanations in twenty-nine Latin Poets of the Renaissance", *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 27 (1978), 310.

As sensible and appealing as this correction may seem, it nevertheless is unnecessary. The available evidence in fact strongly suggests that the young Erasmus wrote *simeae* because that was how *his* Vergil wrote it. A medieval variant of the classical *simae*, the reading *simeae* is found as early as the ninth century, both in the text of Buc. 10,7 and in the commentaries on it: in the *codex Bernensis* 172 of Vergil's works (saec. IX), in MSS *B* and *C* of the *Scholia Bernensia* on Buc. 10,7 (saec. IX-X), and in the MSS *P*, *R*, and *H* of Servius' commentary on the verse (saec. X-XI)<sup>5</sup>. That these manuscripts (and possibly others as well) subsequently gave rise to a group of manuscripts with the reading *simeae* may be reasonably inferred from the occurrence of the form not only in Erasmus' poem, but also in other texts of the late Middle Ages. Thus the Vergil manuscript owned by Petrarch (early 14th century) offers *simē* in the text of Buc. 10,7 and *simee* in the Servius commentary enclosing the text<sup>6</sup>. And an incunabulum of Servius' commentary on Vergil, printed at Strassburg around 1470, still gives the form *simee*<sup>7</sup>. Further searching will undoubtedly turn up other late medieval manuscripts or even incunabula of Vergil and Servius with the variant reading *simeae* (*simee*, *simiae*), but that will have to be left to someone with readier access to the materials than I. At any rate, Erasmus' *simeae* is plainly a medievalism requiring not emendation, but explanation.

A few questions concerning the form *simeae* remain to be answered.

First: how did the variant arise in the manuscripts of Vergil and his commentators? The form appears to be the result of a partial assimilation of the adjective *simus* to the much more familiar noun *simia*, in Middle Latin also spelled *simea*<sup>8</sup>. The words are, after all, etymologically related, as Servius points out: *SIMAE graecum est nomen, id est pressis naribus, unde et simias dicimus*. The expected transitional form *simiae*

<sup>5</sup> See Hermannus Hagen, ed., *Scholia Bernensia ad Vergili Bucolica atque Georgica* (1867; Hildesheim, 1967), p. 162, var. of Buc. 10, praef.; and p. 163, var. of 10,7; and Georgius Thilo, ed., *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica Commentarii*, vol. 3,1 of *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii* (Leipzig, 1887), p. 119, var. of l. 22.

<sup>6</sup> *Francisci Petrarcae Vergilianus codex*, facs., Petrarcae codex Biblioth. Ambros., olim A. 49, inf. (Milan, 1930), fol. 15<sup>r</sup> and 15<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Fol. [a]2<sup>r</sup>: Mauri Seruii Honorati grāmatici: omētarius in bucolica Virgilii incipit [Strassburg, The R-printer (Adolf Rusch), 1470?]; copy in the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Inc. 244 PF (Hain 14703\*; Proctor 244; BMC I. 60; Goff. S-480).

<sup>8</sup> E. Habel and F. Gröbel, *Mittelateinisches Glossar*, 2. Auflage (Paderborn, n.d.), p. 367, col. 1.

(adj.) also occurs in the manuscript tradition of the Vergil commentaries, namely in Philargyrius' commentary on Buc. 10,7, manuscripts *L* and *N*<sup>9</sup>.

Second: what is the quantity of the *i* in *simeae*? In order to avoid the metrically impossible creticus *simēāē* which the parallel with *simia* (noun) suggests, we can only read *simēae* in the Vergil manuscripts and the Erasmus poem. Alardus clearly recognized this when he changed the word to the metrically equivalent *niveae*. The short *i* of *simeae*, of course, sounds unclassical to those who have *simia* and *simae* in their ears; but who could expect the fourteen-year old Erasmus to emend a reading he had found in his Vergil or his Servius or both? Certainly his feeling for classical quantities was still such that he could, in the same poem, write *lūcubrantia* for *lūcubrantia* (l. 3) and *pīlis* for *pīlis* (l. 27).

Third: why did a contemporary like Alardus not recognize the reading *simeae* as a medievalism for the Vergilian *simae* and emend the text accordingly? The variant was confined to a relatively small group of late manuscripts. The vast bulk of the Vergil and Servius manuscripts and incunabula continued to offer the standard *simae*. This, coupled with the additional classical parallel of Ovid, *ars am.* 2,486 *sima capella*, ensured that none of the contemporary Humanists, to my knowledge, used or even knew of the variant reading *simeae*<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> Hermannus Hagen, ed., *Appendix Serviana*, vol. 3,2 of *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii* [Leipzig, 1902], p. 177, col. 2, l. 15 f. and var.: *simi<sup>ae</sup> capelle idest inpresis naribus*.

<sup>10</sup> The phrase *simae capellae* is not uncommon in the Renaissance poets: Landinus, *Xandra* 1,3,30 and Sannazarus, *Eleg.* 3,2,12 (= *Ov., ars am.* 2,486): *sima capella*; Euricius Cordus, *Ecl.* 4,39: *simis ... capellis*; Landinus, *Xandra* 2,18,35 (Bebel, *Ecloga*, in *Opera*, Phorce [Pforzheim], 1504, fol. G6<sup>v</sup>; Mutian Rufus, letter to Eobanus Hessus, Gotha, Oct. 15 [1508], Nr. 149 Gillert): *... simasque capellas*; Politianus, *Sylv.* 1,156 and Andrelinus, *Ecl.* 7,34: *simas ... capellas*.

THE "LOST" THIRD EPITAPH FOR HENRY OF BERGEN,  
WRITTEN BY ERASMUS

In a letter of November 27, 1503, addressed to Willem Hermans, Erasmus wrote:

"Episcopum Cameracensem tribus Latinis epitaphiis celebravi, uno Graeco; miserunt sex florenos tantum, ut etiam mortuus sui similis esset".

In a note Allen stated that the Greek epitaph was lost, and indicated where to find the three Latin epitaphs: one was printed on the title page of Jacobus Anthonisz' *De praecellentia potestatis imperatoriae* (Antwerp, D. Martens, 1 April 1503) and the other two in Erasmus' *Varia Epigrammata* (Paris, J. Badius, 8 Jan. 1507)<sup>1</sup>.

It seems odd, that from the four known poems for the death of Henry of Bergen, only two were traditionally included in the Erasmian canon. Concerning the Greek poem, one still could argue, as Reedijk did, that perhaps Greek typography had not made enough progress in the beginning of the sixteenth century at Paris to allow the printing of a longer Greek poem in Erasmus' *Varia Epigrammata* of 1507<sup>2</sup>. Indeed, in this collection only one short Greek epitaph, that for James Batt, appears (= Reedijk, *The Poems*, carm. 62), but on the other hand one must admit that the length of the Greek poem Erasmus wrote for Henry of Bergen

<sup>1</sup> P.S. Allen (ed.), *Opus epistolarum D. Erasmi Roterodami*, 12 vols (Oxford, 1906-1958), I, 395: ep. 178, 11. 49-51 and note. A nearly identical note appears in *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, II, translated by R.A.B. Mynors and D.F.S. Thomson, annotated by W.K. Ferguson (Toronto, 1975), p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> C. Reedijk, "Erasmus' verzen op het overlijden van Hendrik van Bergen, bisschop van Kamerijk", *Het Boek*, N. R. 30 (1949-51), 297-305 (p. 303).

remains totally unknown to us. Why the third Latin poem has been left out still raises more questions, the more since it first appeared in a book, from which the introductory distichon (= Reedijk, *The Poems*, carm. 67) was taken into the *Varia Epigrammata* and hence did find its way into the Erasmian canon.

This whole situation, however, is not a total surprise for anyone acquainted with Erasmus' (relative) carelessness about his poetical output, which resulted from his correct evaluation of his own poetical talent and, perhaps even more, from his mature appraisal of Latin poetry and its cultural function. Ferguson tried to compensate for the author's carelessness by collecting most of Erasmus' scattered poems<sup>3</sup>, and Reedijk was the first to try his hand at a complete edition with his excellent volume *The Poems of Desiderius Erasmus*. In preparing this edition, he devoted a separate article to Erasmus' verses for the death of Henry of Bergen, and in it he especially dealt with the third Latin poem, discovered by Allen, giving a modern transcription and some essential commentary. In his final edition, the three Latin texts under discussion are published with the title:

"Three epitaphs for Henry of Bergen, Bishop of Cambray"<sup>4</sup>.

So far Erasmian scholarship.

## II

The acquisition of J. Anthonisz' *De praecllentia* by the Rotterdam Gemeentebibliotheek induced Reedijk to pay special attention to the third Latin poem for the death of Henry of Bergen. While doing so, he simply took over Allen's statement that this was the third Latin epitaph Erasmus referred to in his letter.

It seems quite possible that for Allen the delight of discovering this poem largely outweighed the discrepancies between its characteristics and those of the epitaph, which are illustrated by the thirty or so real epitaphs Erasmus produced. Its title alone makes clear that this poem is not to be considered an epitaph: "Ad amplissimum patrem Antonium de Berghes abbatem divi Bertini de morte fratris episcopi Cameracensis

<sup>3</sup> W.K. Ferguson, *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera Omnia. Supplementum* (The Hague, 1933; reprint Hildesheim-New York, 1978).

<sup>4</sup> C. Reedijk (ed.), *The Poems of Desiderius Erasmus* (Leiden, 1956), pp. 262-5, Nos. 64-66.

carmen elegiacum". It is addressed to the brother of the deceased and, above all, it is quite rightly entitled "carmen elegiacum", to be compared for instance with Ovid's lament for the death of Tibullus (*Amores*, III, 9).

These considerations induced me to reconsider the historical evidence. At first glance, the local histories seemed to be sufficiently screened: the old study by Le Glay states only that the tomb of Henry of Bergen was situated at the entrance of the choir of the cathedral, and bore the following inscription: "Berganae stirpis septem de fratribus unum ..." (= Reedijk, *The Poems*, carm. 65). This piece of information, together with Le Glay's French translation of the Latin text, has been simply taken over by Berteaux<sup>5</sup>.

If something new were to be discovered, therefore, one had to look elsewhere. And since Henry of Bergen in 1493 became Chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, it seemed appropriate to extend research in that direction.

In 1971 a study by F. Koller on the Officers of that Order appeared<sup>6</sup>, which fully warrants the judgment put into the mouth of Pliny the Elder by his nephew: "Nullum esse librum tam malum, ut non aliqua parte prodesset" (Plin., *epist.* 3, 5, 10). It suffers from an astonishing lack of historical criticism, and offers a quite horrible transcription of some Latin texts. Nevertheless, it discovers some intriguing scents. On p. 19 we find the well-known epitaph for Henry of Bergen by Erasmus, beginning, "Berganae stirpis septem de fratribus unum ..." (= Reedijk, *The Poems*, carm. 65), in a version very much like the one published by Le Glay: it offers the same variants in v. 2 (solo), v. 5 (Inde), v. 6 (Tum) and vv. 7-8 (Le Glay: "Anno milleno C. quinquies octuageno / Septima octobris transiit ad Dominum"), except for the second half of v. 7 and the beginning of v. 8, where a partly better reading is offered: "... C. quiniēs (sic!) atque secundo/Septena ...". Yet this epitaph is not, curiously enough, ascribed to Erasmus by Koller, but another is. It comprises 10

<sup>5</sup> A. Le Glay, *Recherches sur l'église métropolitaine de Cambrai* (Paris, 1825, p. 63); L'abbé Berteaux, *Etude historique en deux volumes sur l'ancienne cathédrale, les évêques et les archevêques, les églises, les paroisses, les chapelles, les cloches, les sépultures dans les Eglises et les Couvents, les cimetières, les caveaux, les épitaphes et les pierres tombales encore existantes de la ville de Cambrai de l'an 500 à l'an 1798*, 2 vols (Cambrai, 1908), I, 158. No new information is given in the works by A. Bourgeois, *Histoire des évêques et archevêques de Cambrai* (Paris, 1876), J. Houdoy, *Histoire artistique de la Cathédrale de Cambrai ancienne église métropolitaine Notre-Dame* (Paris, 1880), or H. Lancelin, *Histoire du diocèse de Cambrai* (Valenciennes, 1946).

<sup>6</sup> F. Koller, *Au service de la Toison d'Or (Les Officiers)*, (Dison, 1971).

distiches, and begins, "Hoc premitur tumolo (sic!) Henricus, cui clara propago".

Given the rather loose historical foundations of the whole study, this ascription seemed at first not worth considering, and to be put down to simple confusion on the part of the author. This first impression was strengthened after a check of Koller's source: MS 21.050 of the Royal Library of Brussels<sup>7</sup>, entitled (f. 2<sup>r</sup>), "Dissertation sur l'origine du Conseil Privé". From this source (f. 163<sup>r+v</sup>) Koller took the false information that Erasmus accompanied Henry of Bergen on his journey to the Holy Land, as well as the text of the two epitaphs. But in the manuscript neither of those two are ascribed to Erasmus! Hence, one could jump to this conclusion: from a not always reliable manuscript an anonymous text has been published by Koller in an improper way, and without reason ascribed to Erasmus.

Still, the shadow of a doubt remained, and if any light could dissipate that shadow, it had to come from a new and more thorough examination of the sources.

In 1862 A. Pinchart published extracts from an important document, kept at the Municipal Archives of Bergen op Zoom. This document contained a list of expenses made for the erection of the funeral monument of Henry of Bergen by the executors of his will<sup>8</sup>. In it we read for instance (f. 52<sup>v</sup>) that a humble sum was sent:

— "Item par ordonnance par les mains de messire Anthoine chapelain de monseigneur de saint Bertin, à maistre Erasme de Rotterdammis, poète, pour avoir fait aucuns épitaphes, et en aulmonne: vj livres",

<sup>7</sup> This 18th century MS had been in the possession of Jean-Baptiste-Désiré-Joseph Leclercqz (1761-1821), a famous scholar and collector of manuscripts. See the note on him by E. van Arenbergh in the *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, XI (Brussels, 1890-91), coll. 588-90. Baron de Reiffenberg bought it at the auction of Leclercqz' library in Brussels: *Catalogue des livres manuscrits et Elzevirs, délaissés par M. Leclercqz, dont la vente aura lieu à Bruxelles, Mardi 10 Novembre 1829 et jours suivans ... sous la direction de F.-P. Simon* (Brussels, 1829), p. 33, No. 32.

<sup>8</sup> A. Pinchart, "Archives des Arts, des Sciences et des Lettres", *Messenger des sciences historiques ou Archives des Arts et de la Bibliographie en Belgique* (1862), 415-17.

This document was missing at the time Reedijk published Erasmus's poems, but it now has turned up again. See W. A. van Ham, *Inventaris van de archieven van de raad en de rekenkamer van de markiezen van Bergen op Zoom*, Rijksarchief in Noord-Brabant, Gemeente-archief Bergen op Zoom, Inventarisreeks nr. 25, 5 vols ('s-Hertogenbosch, 1980), II. A, p. 171, nr. 85.

a humble sum indeed compared to some other interesting payments (f. 57<sup>r+v</sup>):

— “Item payé aulx marchans et ouvriers de Tournay, par marchié fait avecques eulx d’avoir fait et livré la lamme de feu monseigneur, et assiz sur sa sépulture, la somme de xv livres de gros, monnoie de Flandres, valent: iii<sup>iii</sup><sup>xx</sup>x livres ...

— “Item à Jehan Maldeurée, fondeur et ouvrier de métal, demorant à Tournay, a esté délivré pour l’épitaphe de feu monseigneur, lequel il a marchandé de faire et livrer comme il est assiz en l’église de Cambrai: iii<sup>c</sup> xlvj livres xix solz vj deniers ...

— Item pour avoir fait dorer ledict épitaphe de feu monseigneur, le poindre et resluminer selon le marchié fait avec Dominique Rabeu a esté payé xlvj livres”.

These quotations reveal another interesting fact, viz. that *two* copper plates have been cast and placed upon the grave: a smaller one, “la lamme”, by some unnamed craftsmen from Tournai, for the price of 90 florins, and a very large one, cast by Jean Maldeure, likewise from Tournai, for the price of nearly 347 florins. According to Houdoy, *both* copper plates were made by Jean Maldeure, and on the smaller one the 8 verses (= Reedijk, *The Poems*, carm. 65) by Erasmus were inscribed<sup>9</sup>.

The question which arises now is: is it not probable that on the large copper plate also a text was inscribed, possibly the Latin text published so clumsily by Koller? Trying to retrace Le Glay’s sources in the Municipal Libraries of Cambrai and Arras, and in the Archives Départementales du Nord (Lille), I was informed by the keeper of the Municipal Library of Cambrai some ten years ago<sup>10</sup> that a new volume on the iconography of the bishops and archbishops of Cambrai was in the press<sup>11</sup>. The author himself, R. Faille, was kind enough to send me all the material available about the tomb of Henry of Bergen, and that included (1) a copy of a possible manuscript source of Le Glay and, still more important, (2) a drawing of the bishop’s funeral monument.

A manuscript source possibly used by Le Glay is the MS 1049 of the Municipal Library of Cambrai, compiled by Abbé Tranchant in 1764<sup>12</sup>:

<sup>9</sup> Houdoy, *Histoire artistique*, p. 102.

<sup>10</sup> His letter from 21.I.1975.

<sup>11</sup> R. Faille, “Iconographie des évêques et archevêques de Cambrai”, *Mémoires de la Société d’Emulation de Cambrai*, 94 (1974), 1-343.

<sup>12</sup> See *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France — Départements. Tome XVII. Cambrai* (Paris, 1891), p. 427.



*Collectio omnium inscriptionum in metropolis ecclesiae Cameracensis monumentis seu tabulis aereis, marmoreis et saxeis incisarum, facta anno salutiferae redemptionis nostrae millesimo septingentesimo sexagesimo quarto.*

On p. 20 the epitaph "Berganae stirpis septem de fratribus unum" (= Reedijk, *The Poems*, carm. 65) has been transcribed, in exactly the same version as the one published by Le Glay, except for v. 8, where one reads—as in the Brussels MS—"Septena" instead of the metrically incorrect "Septima" printed by Le Glay. It seems strange, however, if Le Glay had made use of this MS, that he should have overlooked a part of this collection, entitled (p. 67):

*Quaedam epitaphia, olim in dicta Cameracensi ecclesia existentia, nunc ablata, ab historicis pluribus relata et ex his desumpta.*

Indeed, on pp. 69-70 turns up exactly the same epitaph of 10 distiches contained in the Brussels MS 21.050 and published by Koller, preceded by the following interesting note:

"Epitaphium R(everen)di D(omi)ni Henrici a Bergis ep(iscop)i Cam(eracensis), cuius corpus Cameracum translatum honorifice sepultum est in introitu dextro chori Ecclesiae Beatae Mariae, cum his versibus".

Underneath the Latin verses the following information appears:

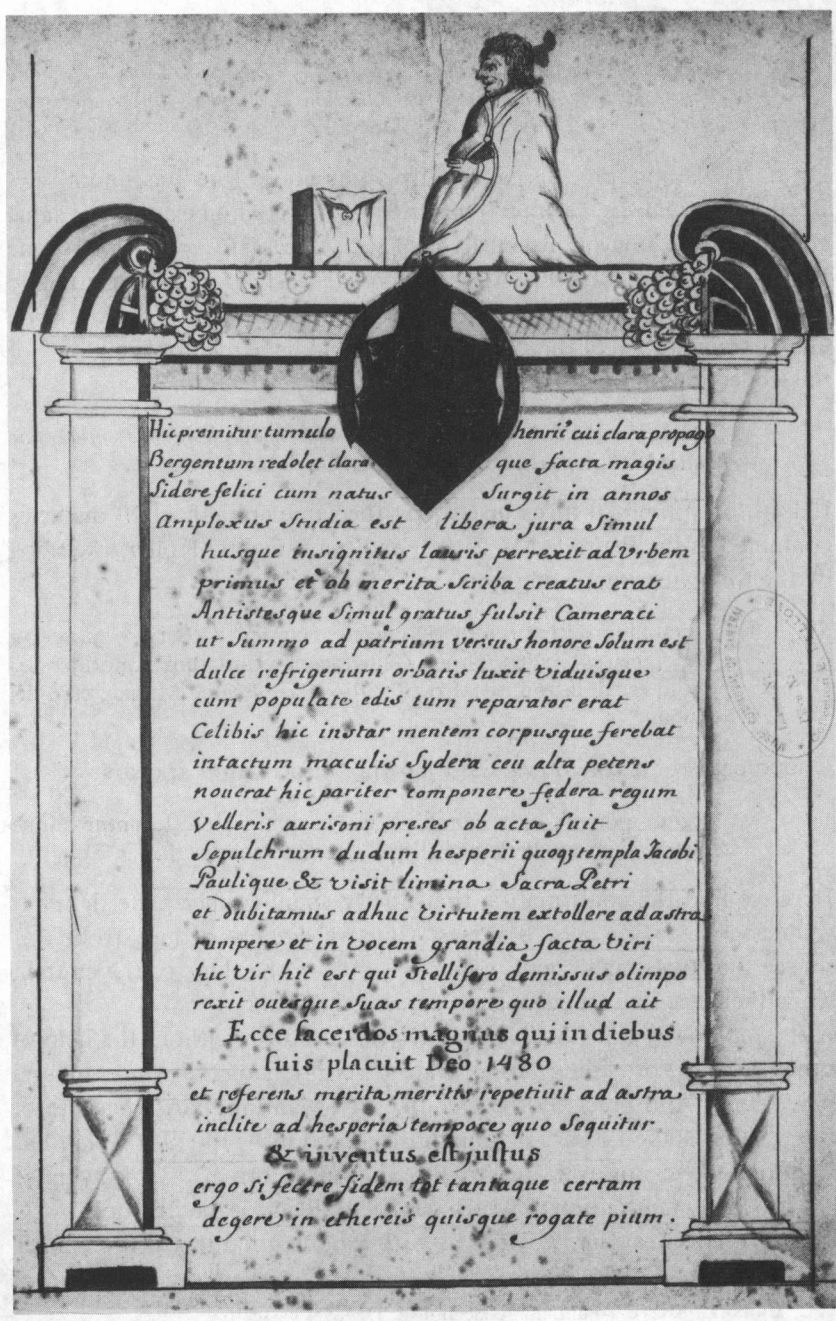
"Tegitur porro corpus lamina aerea in qua sculpte leguntur adhuc sequentes versus, 'Berganae stirpis', etc., ut superius, fol. <20>".

Here we find the confirmation that on the small copper plate (lamina) were engraved Erasmus' 8 verses. Can we equally deduce from this source that this small copper plate was put on the floor of the church, while the large one stood upright against the wall?

It is obviously not possible to solve this problem without the help of other sources, providing an accurate description of the whole funeral monument. And precisely these sources are wanting, partly because of the war losses the Library of Cambrai suffered in April, 1944. What has been preserved, however, in the Museum of Cambrai<sup>13</sup>, is a drawing of the monument, attention to which has been called for the first time by R. Faille<sup>14</sup>. This drawing provides us with a quite good text of the longer

<sup>13</sup> Cambrai, Musée Communal, collection E. Delloye, liasse 16.

<sup>14</sup> Faille, "Iconographie", p. 209 and plate 141 on p. 213.



epitaph, published by Koller, and it shows how the large copper plate was set between two marble columns. On the drawing there is no sign of the small copper plate, the lamina, so we can assume that it was placed on the floor right above the entrance to the bishop's tomb. This assumption seems to find some confirmation in the expression used in the Brussels manuscript (f. 163<sup>v</sup>) taken over by Koller (p. 19): "Il y a en plus *sur la pierre sépulcrale* une lame de cuivre ...». And also certain items in the list of expenses point into the same direction (ff. 56<sup>v</sup>-57<sup>r</sup>):

- "Mises faictes pour l'épitaphe de feu monseigneur et *la lamme sur sa sépulture*.
- Item payé aux marchans et ouvriers de Tournay ... d'avoir fait et livré la lamme de feu monseigneur, et *assiz sur sa sépulture* ...
- Item payé à Jehan Bourdon, machon de l'église de Cambray, pour avoir mené à l'église, *assiz et machonné ladict lamme au lieu de sa sépulture*: lxxij s." (all italics are mine).

The crucial question which arises now is: is the Latin epitaph which appears on the monument really written by Erasmus?

If one considers the rather poor style of the epitaph, with its several awkward verse endings, padded-out lines and inept sentence structures, one is inclined to deny Erasmus' paternity. At that time Erasmus surely was capable of producing more fluent verse, even in hasty hack-work. On the other hand, in the list of expenses, which seems to be complete, Erasmus is the only person mentioned as having written some epitaphs and having been paid for them (ff. 63<sup>v</sup>-64<sup>r</sup>):

- "Item pour avoir envoié à Louvain à maistre Erasme le double de l'instruction de l'épitaphe: vj solz.
- Item payé audict Claes messenger pour apporter ledict épitaphe de Louvain à Tournay et l'avoir sollicité: vj solz".

Naturally one cannot exclude the possibility that in a final stage Erasmus' poem has been discarded in favor of a makeshift composition by some canon of Cambrai or a monk of St. Omer. But until solid proof is brought forward to support a hypothesis of that kind, Erasmus remains the most probable author.

#### IV

Time has come now to provide the first critical edition of this epitaph. The following sigla will be used:

B = Brussel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 21.050, f. 163<sup>r+v</sup>

C = Cambrai, Musée Communal, collection E. Delloye, liasse 16 (drawing)

T = Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1049, pp. 69-70 (= MS Tranchant)

V = F. Vinchant, *Annales de la province et comté de Hainaut, contenant les choses les plus remarquables advenues dans ceste province, depuis l'entrée de Jules Cesar jusqu'à la mort de l'Infante Isabelle*, 6 vols (Mons, 1848-53), VI (1853), 330.

Hic premitur tumulo Henricus, cui clara propago  
 Bergentum redolet claraque facta magis.  
 Sidere felici cum natus surgit in annos  
 Amplexus studia est libera, iura simul.  
 5 Hisque insignitus lauris perrexit ad Urbem,  
 Primus et ob merita scriba creatus erat.  
 Antistesque simul gratus fulsit Cameraci,  
 Ut summo ad patrium versus honore solum est.  
 Dulce refrigerium orbatis luxit viduisque  
 10 Cum populatae aedis tum reparator erat.  
 Caelitis hic instar mentem corpusque ferebat  
 Intactum maculis, sidera ceu alta petens.  
 Noverat hic pariter componere foedera regum,  
 Velleris Aurisoni praeses ob acta fuit.  
 15 Sepulchrum Domini, Hesperii quoque templa Iacobi,  
 Paulique et visit limina sacra Petri.  
 Et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extollere ad astra,  
 Rumpere et in vocem grandia facta viri?  
 Hic vir, hic est qui stellifero demissus Olympo

1. Hoc ... tumolo: B.

3. natus, cum: V.

4. Amplexis: B.

5. Husque: C, T; insignitis: B.

8. patriam: V.

9. orbatis viduisque reluxit: B; orbatis viduisque luxit: T, V.

10. Caelibus: B, Celibis: C; ferabat: B.

12. sidera celsa: B.

13. noverit: B.

14. Ausonii: B; ad acta: V.

15. Sepulchrum dudum: C.

16. limana: B.

17. in astra: V.

19. hic est: est *om.* V.

- 20   Rexit ovesque suas tempore quo illud ait:  
       ECCe SACERDOS MAGNVS, QVI IN DIEBVS  
               SVIS PLACVIT DEO 1480  
       Et referens merita meritis, repetivit ad astra  
       Inclyte ad Hesperia tempore quo sequitur:  
 25       ET INVENTVS EST IVSTVS<sup>15</sup>.  
       Ergo si fecere fidem tot tantaque certam  
       Degere in aethereis quisque rogare pium.

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22. 1480: *om.* B, T, V.

23. Rettulimus merita: V, merita meritis: B.

24. Inclyti: B; ad aetherea: V.

27. ethereis: C; aetheris: T; aethersis: V.

<sup>15</sup> These quotations in capitals include a chronogram, indicating in ll. 21-22 the date of Henry of Bergen's occupation of the episcopal see of Cambrai (1480); with the 22 more years added in l. 25 is reached the date of his death (1502). They derive from the Epistle in the Mass for a confessor-bishop (*Missale Romanum-Commune confessoris pontificis*), and are based on the Bible (Vulg. *Eccl.* 44, 16-17). The existence of this text in the Middle Ages is proved by a sermon, precisely on this topic ("Ecce sacerdos magnus"), by a most famous Franciscan preacher, Berthold of Ratisbon (ca. 1210-14.XII.1272). See A. Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter* (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1902; reprinted Darmstadt, 1963), pp. 745-50.

Brenda HOSINGTON

EARLY FRENCH TRANSLATIONS OF  
THOMAS MORE'S *UTOPIA*: 1550-1730

The popularity in France of Thomas More and the rather special hold that his *Utopia* must have exercised over the French imagination in the two centuries following the first appearance of the work in 1516 can be attested in several ways: by the surprising number of translations into French (no fewer than four complete and one partial translation in a century and a half); by the number of references made either to More or to his *Utopia* by as many as seventy different French authors of the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; and lastly, by the score or so of works written in France in the period 1550-1730 that are indebted in one way or another to *Utopia*<sup>1</sup>. Of these different manifestations of interest in More and his book, it is the first, the early translations of *Utopia*, that will be discussed in this article. We shall be evaluating and comparing the translations in question while at the same time assessing the degree to which each is representative of the translating practices of the day. To date, no such overall study has been made and even comments on the individual translations are rather cursory and extremely general in nature.

The five translations we shall be dealing with are the following:

Jehan Le Blond's 1550 *Description de l'Isle d'Utopie*;  
its "edited" and "corrected" 1559 version by Barthelemy Aneau  
entitled *La Republique d'Utopie*,

Gabriel Chappuys' translation of Book II in his *Estat, description et gouvernement des royaumes et republiques du monde* of 1585,

<sup>1</sup> For biographical information concerning these references and works, see R. W. Gibson and J. Max Patrick, *St. Thomas More: A Preliminary Bibliography* (New Haven and London, 1961) and Frank and Majie Padberg Sullivan, *Moreana: Materials for the Study of Saint Thomas More* (Los Angeles, 1964). For a discussion of More's popularity in France, see Joseph Delcourt, "Saint Thomas More and France", *Traditio*, V (1947), 285-310.

Samuel Sorbière's *Utopie de Thomas Morus* of 1643, and Nicolas Gueudeville's *Utopie... L'Idée ingénieuse pour remédier au malheur des hommes*, which appeared in 1715 and was reprinted in 1717 and 1730 with only one minor change in the title<sup>2</sup>.

Together, these translations span the Renaissance and the seventeenth century, taking us up to the eve of the Enlightenment. How they illustrate certain developments in the history of translation in France in the period, and how they reflect the changing concerns and literary tastes of contemporary French writers, may be seen by examining such aspects as fidelity to the meaning and style of the source text, omissions and additions, and choice of vocabulary. In judging the quality of these versions, however, we must remember that the criteria of excellence in the period under discussion were not ours; pride of place was given not to strict accuracy in meaning and style but to the conveyance of a text's overall message, and this in as elegant a manner as possible.

A detailed evaluation and comparison of all five complete translations is obviously beyond the scope of one article. After some preliminary remarks of a general nature, we shall therefore discuss some features of importance — the title, *parerga*, marginal glosses, organization of the narrative, and the translators' prefatory materials — and then analyze in some detail three passages taken from the *Utopia*: the French King's Council from Book I, the brief description of the legal system in *Utopia* from Book II, and the final section of the work, Utopian religions. These have not been chosen at random. The first, referring to a relatively recent period of French history and treating the ever-controversial subject of

<sup>2</sup> *La Description de l'isle d'Utopie ou est comprins le miroir des republiques du monde ... redigé par Thomas Morus ... avec l'Épître liminaire par M. Bude* (Paris, Charles l'Angelier, 1550). Translated by Jehan Le Blond. *La République d'Utopie par Thomas Maure*. Avec Advertissement declaratif de l'œuvre par M. B. A. (Lyon, Jean Saugrain, 1559). Second edition of Le Blond's translation by M. B. A., i.e., Barthelemy Aneau. "De la République d'Utopie" in Gabriel Chappuys' *Estat, description et gouvernement des royaumes et republiques du monde* (Paris, 1585) pp. 298-317. *L'Utopie de Thomas Morus* (Amsterdam, 1643). Translated by Samuel Sorbière. *L'Utopie de Thomas Morus ... Idée ingénieuse pour remédier au malheur des Hommes* (Leyden, 1715; Amsterdam, R. and G. Wetstein, 1717; Amsterdam, L'Honore, 1730, -41, etc.). Translated by Nicolas Gueudeville. The translations remain the same in the various editions but the title of the 1730 and subsequent editions becomes *L'Idée d'une République heureuse ou l'Utopie de Thomas Morus*. All references in this article will be to the above editions. The Latin text used is the Basel edition of March, 1518, as reproduced in the Yale edition. Thomas More, *Utopia*. Edited by Edward Surtz and J. H. Hexter (New Haven and London, 1965). All page references will be to this edition.

royal counsellorship, would presumably have been of particular interest both to the translators, and their general readers in France. The second would have concerned a more select audience; many of the Frenchmen who alluded to More and the *Utopia* in their writings happen to have been jurists and lawyers, starting of course with Budé himself. The reason for choosing the third again concerns both the translators and their audience. Of the five translators, three were directly involved in some way with Protestantism (Le Blond and Chappuys being the exceptions), a fact never hitherto commented on but surely not without significance. As for their readers, they were undoubtedly drawn from both Catholic and Protestant circles, for the fact that More and his role in the Schism aroused the interest, and often the sympathy, of Frenchmen of both religious persuasions is amply proved by the number of references found in the writings of the period we are considering. The final concern in choosing these three passages was a purely practical one; they are taken from roughly the beginning, the middle and the end of the book and they deal with three very different subjects.

The translations have received varying degrees of attention in the time since they were published. Of the five, Le Blond's has received the most. In 1940, Peggram compared it in some detail with the first English version of 1557, Ralph Robinson's<sup>3</sup>. While conceding the superiority of the French work in terms of accuracy, he preferred Robinson's on account of its "ingenuity", a rather dubious quality to assign to a translation. In 1970, Michel Jeanneret wrote a brief critical introduction to a new edition of the translation, in which he agreed with Peggram in describing Le Blond's version as "fidèle" and "élégant"<sup>4</sup>. André Prévost has echoed the sentiments in the introduction to his own recent edition and translation of *Utopia*, adding that Le Blond's version has become "la traduction classique qui s'est imposée au public de langue française pendant un siècle"<sup>5</sup>. Le Blond's translation was reedited, with changes, in 1559 by Aneau and published by the Protestant printer, Saugrain. Its title now contained the rather ambiguous words, "nouvellement traduite

<sup>3</sup> R.E. Peggram, "First French and English Translations of Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*", *Modern Language Review*, XXV (1940), 330-40.

<sup>4</sup> Jean Le Blond, *La Description de l'isle d'Utopie* (Paris: Charles l'Angelier, 1550; reprinted New York and The Hague, 1970). Edited by M. A. Screech with an Introduction by Michel Jeanneret.

<sup>5</sup> *L'Utopie de Thomas More*. Edited by André Prévost (Paris, 1978), p. ccxxix.



du latin", and Le Blond's name was omitted both from the title page and from the *explicit*, which was otherwise reproduced intact. While a translation already nine years old could possibly be called "recent", and we are here giving the printer the benefit of the doubt as to the meaning of "nouvellement", the omission of Le Blond's name, the signing of the accompanying "Advertissement" with the mysterious initials "M. B.A.", now widely accepted as being those of Aneau, and the omission of any reference to Le Blond in the "Advertissement", all tend to suggest a rather less than scrupulous intent on the part of Saugrain, and even perhaps on the part of Aneau himself.

However, such practices concerning the publication of translations were current at a time when authors' and printers' rights mattered little. Whatever its explanation, the confusion surrounding the authorship of the translation persisted from Du Verdier on through Père Niceron, who even attributes the 1550 edition to Aneau, as do several of Aneau's biographers<sup>6</sup>. Even the catalogues of the Bibliothèque nationale and the British Library enter the two editions under Aneau. Neither Jeanneret nor Prévost attributes any real importance to Aneau's revisions which they call "remaniements ... de moindre importance" and "retouchements". They tend, adds Jeanneret, "à assurer au texte, selon le cas, une fidélité plus grande à l'original, ou une clarté plus satisfaisante; ils visent parfois à renforcer les liens syntactiques, à imprimer au style et à l'orthographe un aspect plus moderne"<sup>7</sup>. Jeanneret confesses that his comparison of the two versions has been hasty; Prévost makes no mention of any comparison at all. In actual fact, however, a close collation of the two reveals some rather surprising differences while at the same time putting into question Jeanneret's claims of "improvement". Some of these differences will be discussed in this article although a detailed examination of the subject must be reserved for a separate study.

Unlike Le Blond's and Aneau's work, Chappuys' 1585 translation of Book II of the *Utopia* has been completely neglected. The king's official historiographer and interpreter, Chappuys was one of the most prolific translators of his day, and therein perhaps lies the reason for his oblivion; his translations were hastily and rather carelessly executed, even by Renaissance standards. Another factor might also explain the

<sup>6</sup> Antoine Du Verdier, *Bibliothèque française* (Paris, 1580); Père Niceron, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres* (Paris, 1729-45), XX, p. 177.

<sup>7</sup> Jeanneret (cf. n. 4), pp. xix-xx.

silence surrounding his “Utopie”; it is buried away as Chapter XXIV of his work *Estat, description et gouvernement des Royaumes et Republiques du monde*. It remains that Chappuys’ biographers pass over it in silence; bibliographers give it but a passing nod; most surprising, compilers of the French translations of More’s *Utopia* never include it<sup>8</sup>. If for this reason alone, it merits our attention. Yet it is also of interest in its own right because it is in some ways more typical of Renaissance translations than its two predecessors, being very free, full of omissions and additions, yet infused with the translator’s obvious delight in his subject.

Sorbière’s version of *Utopia* has received more attention than Chappuys’, being always included in the lists of French translations and in the translator’s biographical notices. That, however, is the extent of its reputation, for nowhere has any critique of it been made. Gueudeville’s, on the other hand, has inspired many, all brief and all negative. Nicéron’s scathing description of its “stile burlesque”, “expressions triviales de mauvaises plaisanteries” and “pensées froides et insipides” are echoed by all the succeeding reference works mentioning Gueudeville’s name, while for Joseph Delcourt the translator is a victim of “naïve flights of fancy” and for Prévost, the author of a text “à caractère subversif, étranger aux intentions anagogiques de l’*Utopie* originale”<sup>9</sup>. Indeed, for this rebel against Catholicism and against Louis XIV, *Utopia* seems to have served as an example of a perfect republic and More’s description of it an opportunity to vent his own vehement feelings. Whether his translation deserves the criticism it has received will be seen as we now turn to an examination of the translations themselves.

The titles of the five translations are of interest both in their own right and for the clues they provide concerning the nature of the translation in question. They are as follows:

*More*

De optimo reipublicae statu deque nova insula Utopia libellus vere aureus, nec minus salutaris quam festivus, clarissimi disertissimique viri Thomae Mori inclytae civitatis Londinensis civis & Vicecomitis.

<sup>8</sup> R. W. Gibson (cf. n. 1), does include it but only in his list of utopias and dystopias, pp. 332-34.

<sup>9</sup> Nicéron, *Mémoires*, XXV, p. 234; Delcourt, “Saint Thomas More”, p. 305; Prévost, *L’Utopie*, p. ccxxx.

*Le Blond*

La description de l'isle d'Utopie ou est compris le miroer des republiques du monde, et l'exemplaire de vie heureuse; redige par escrit en stille tres elegant de grand'haultesse et maiste par illustre bon et scavant personnage Thomas Morus citoyen de Londres et Chancelier d'Angleterre.

*Aneau*

La Republique d'Utopie, Œuvre grandement utile et profitable, demonstrant le parfait estat d'une bien ordonnée politique.

*Chappuys*

De la republique d'Utopie, estat et gouvernement d'icelle.

*Sorbière*

L'*Utopie* de Thomas Morus.

*Gueudeville*

L'*Utopie* de Thomas Morus, Idée ingenieuse pour remédier au malheur des hommes; & pour leur procurer une félicitée complete. Cet ouvrage contient le Plan d'une République dont les Lois, les Usages, & les Coutumes tendent uniquement à faire faire aux Sociétés Humaines le passage de la Vie dans toute la douceur imaginable. République, qui deviendra infailliblement réelle, dès que les Mortels se conduiront par la Raison.

In the Latin title, the word "*Utopia*" is not given pride of place; this is reserved for "*de optimo reipublicae statu*", words which are repeated in the titles placed at the head of each of the two books of the *Utopia*. This surely indicates what the author himself saw as his real subject: the best state of a republic, or commonwealth, as *discussed* in Book I and as *illustrated* in Book II by the island of Utopia. Yet all five French titles place the reference to Utopia first, thus shifting More's emphasis, and all either mistranslate, elaborate upon, or omit the remainder of the title<sup>10</sup>. The praise implied in the Latin "*de optimo ... statu*" certainly gains in the translating, going from Le Blond's use of the metaphor "le miroer", to which is added for good measure "exemplaire de vie heureuse", to

<sup>10</sup> It is not without interest to note that the titles of the two English translations that appeared in the period we are discussing show a similar shift. Robinson's original title, *A Fruteful and pleasaunt worke of the best state of a publyque weale, and of the newe yle called Utopia* (1551) became in the 1624 and 1639 editions *Sir Thomas Moore's Utopia* and *The Commonwealth of Utopia*, respectively, with the original title being relegated to the place of subtitle, while Burnet, in his 1684 translation, calls the work quite simply, *Utopia*.

Aneau's even more inaccurate "parfait estat", a term with which More most assuredly would have taken issue, and then finally to Gueudeville's exaggerated description of what the translator believes is More's plan to describe a perfect republic, one which will be "infailliblement réelle" once man is ruled by reason. Again, the title would have troubled More the author, and is a direct contradiction of More the persona's final sentence of the *Utopia*. Thus some of the titles reveal their authors' concerns and their understanding of More's work while at the same time being indicative of their translating style and overall ability. The words "elegance latine" and "stille tres elegant de grand'haultesse et maiste" in Le Blond's title, together with his adjective "scavant" to describe More, point to an aspect of *Utopia* obviously of importance to him and indeed reflect the nature of his own translation, which is both elegant and learned. Aneau's new title, containing the words "utile et profitable", is an accurate translation of *salutaris*, although the omission of *festivus* deflects from More's intentions. Moreover, it reflects the concern expressed by Aneau in his "Advertissement" to present *Utopia* as a work of great moral and social worth. Of Chappuys' and Sorbière's titles there is indeed nothing to say. Gueudeville's, however, is only too revealing of his intentions to use *Utopia* for polemical purposes and only too indicative of the tenor of the whole translation: flowery, inaccurate and highly subjective.

The *parerga* accompanying the 1518 Basle edition and the later editions based on it seem to have suffered strangely at the hands of the translators. Le Blond translates only Budé's Letter to Lupset, which Aneau promptly omits, although he refers to it in his "Advertissement". Sorbière translates only More's prefatory letter to Giles. Gueudeville gives us all the *parerga* except More's second letter to Giles, the sketch of Utopia and the Utopian alphabet. Chappuys omits everything.

The marginal notes or glosses composed by Giles and probably Erasmus suffer a fate similar to the *parerga*. Le Blond retains them in principle but omits about one third, including all the more acerbic ones. Interestingly enough, this proportion rises to two thirds in the section on religions, a point to which we shall return. Le Blond adds two glosses of his own, one of which mistranslates *foedera* as "paix" (p. 76). Of the sixty-four he translates, eleven are serious mistranslations. Aneau manages to omit two further glosses, retains Le Blond's two manufactured

ones and repeats ten of Le Blond's eleven mistakes. Chappuys adopts a completely different attitude towards the glosses, omitting the majority, incorporating others into chapter headings, regrouping still others, and adding many of his own, which serve as resumes of rather than comments on the text. Sorbière and Gueudeville show even greater freedom than Chappuys: they omit the glosses completely. To find any real fidelity to More's text, we have to turn to the question of the organization of the narrative. The division of *Utopia* into two books, with the second being subdivided into sections, is respected by all four translators of the whole text. Chappuys, on the other hand, divides Book II not into nine sections but into six, regrouping the first five into two.

In the period we are considering, 1550-1730, the translator's notice, preface or dedication is usually very revealing concerning its author's aims and methods. The prefatory materials accompanying the early French *Utopias* are no exception. They almost all fulfill the three functions of such texts: to explain why the work is being translated; to explain the translator's method and defend his abilities; and to explain the original text. Thus we learn that Le Blond's purpose in translating *Utopia* into French was for "l'utilite & proffit de la republique", a not uncommon assertion in sixteenth-century prefaces. More important, though, we learn about his method. He uses paraphrase in order to make the original more intelligible and uses French words that are old or uncommon in order to enrich the French language. The first issue — paraphrastic versus literal translation — was still being hotly debated in the Renaissance, hence Le Blond's desire to defend himself. The second — the revival of old vocabulary and the role of translation in enriching the national language — was an equally controversial issue, and one which Le Blond had already addressed in his *Apologie de la langue françoise*, included in his 1546 translation of Patrizi, *Le Livre de police humaine*. The position he takes in his notice and in his *Apologie* places him on the side of the Marotists, which is rather ironical in light of the fact that he considered himself a rival and enemy of Marot<sup>11</sup>. He does not seek to explain the *Utopia* to his readers, however. This task Aneau takes up in his "Advertissement declaratif de l'œuvre", in which he

<sup>11</sup> For a detailed discussion of Le Blond's *Apologie* see Gustave Charlier, "Jean Le Blond et son apologie de la langue française (1546)", *Revue de l'Instruction publique en Belgique*, 55 (1912), 331-44, and R. E. Hallowell, "Jean Le Blond's Defense of the French Language", *Romanic Review*, 51 (1960), 86-92.

expounds on the meaning of the work, the nature of the roles played by the different characters and the meaning of the island's name, for this last piece of information relying on Budé's Letter to Lupset. Nothing is said concerning the translation itself, but this is not surprising considering the confusion surrounding the original translation and the reediting of it that we have already discussed.

Chappuys' "Avant Propos" seeks to explain the meaning of his whole work, which is to present the examples of other republics, none of which is fictional except *Utopia*, "un vray modele & vray figure d'une parfaite Republique, a l'imitation de la Platonique". This is the only information Chappuys provides about *Utopia*; about his translation of it he says nothing. Sorbière's "Dedication" of his translation to his patron, Frederick, Grand Comte Sauvage (*Wildgraf*) du Rhin, praises *Utopia* as being the equal of Plato's *Republic* and worthy of the recommendations of Erasmus and Budé, which proves that Sorbière had read the *parerga*, although he omits all but More's prefatory letter to Giles. The Dedication is fairly typical of the period in that while praising the virtues of the original, it defensively expresses the humble wish of the translator that someone one day will produce a more elegant version. Unfortunately, like Chappuys' "Avant Propos", it tells us nothing of the methods that the translator used. This silence is more than compensated for by the verbosity of Gueudeville's lengthy Preface and his publisher's Dedicatory Epistle. Both state that More's work deserved to be translated into a more "accessible" language, which suggests that neither Gueudeville nor his publisher knew of the existence of the previous translations. Both also explain the significance of *Utopia* and its relevance to eighteenth-century society, but Gueudeville's Preface is in large part a platform for its author's anti-monarchist views, stridently expressed in his detailed comparison of *Utopia* and Europe. Lastly, both stress the difficulty of rendering More's *Utopia* in French; the style of the original is "trop recherché" and its ideas are too new, states the Epistle, while in the Preface Gueudeville accuses More's Latin of being "rien moins que Ciceronien" and thus far too difficult. As a result, the translator has had at times to "guess" at the meaning, at others he has "commented" on the text; in short, his version is not an exact translation but a "Paraphrase ... une Traduction libre", and not a "Version scrupuleuse". By 1715, the defence is an old and familiar one.

To sum up our findings so far, then, we find divergencies in the various translated titles — none of which renders More's accurately — and in the handling of the *parerga* and marginal glosses. As for the prefatory

materials, they are representative of the periods to which they belong and reflect the concerns of the day: the belief that translation can enrich the national language and play an educative role in society is widespread in the Renaissance, the humble yet defensive stand of the translator is typical of prefaces throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while the more self-confident if equally defensive position adopted by our eighteenth-century translator is that of many an author in the era of the *belles infidèles*.

Let us turn now to the three passages we have chosen to discuss in some detail. The first is an excerpt from Hythloday's reply to his listeners who have advised him to become a royal counsellor. He asks them to imagine him in, for example, the court of the French King<sup>12</sup>. The tone of the passage is ironic, a tone fairly well captured by Le Blond and Aneau, ignored by Sorbière, whose translation is flat and colourless, and overdone by Gueudeville, who raises the irony to the level of sarcasm in this passage, as in all the others where the subject of rulers is treated, for his is an anti-monarchist tract rather than a faithful translation of the *Utopia*. The level of the Latin in this excerpt is colloquial and rather familiar but this sometimes eludes the translators. The passage begins, for example, with *age finge*, which not one translates. Generally speaking, however, the excerpt is fairly accurately rendered. One sentence in particular merits a close examination since it illustrates several of the points we have raised so far. (The italics are mine).

*More*

... dum alius consulit *conducendos* Germanos, alius pecunia *demulcendos* Elvetios. Alius adversus *numen imperatoriae maiestatis, auro, velut anathemate, propitiandum*. Dum alii videtur cum Arragonum rege componendas esse res, & *alieno Navariae regno, velut pacis authoramento cedendum*.

*Le Blond:*

L'autre conseillera qu'il fault *assembler* les Alemans, l'autre qu'il fault *attirer* les Suisses par argent, l'autre sera d'opinion qu'on *apaise* l'Empereur, & qu'on *rompe les entreprises a force d'or, comme s'on y procedoit par censures*, l'autre de composer avec le roy d'Arragon & *ceder au royaume de Navarre* comme un gage de paix.

<sup>12</sup> Latin, 86/22-90/22; Le Blond, pp. 22-24; Aneau, pp. 78-84; Sorbière, pp. 45-49; Gueudeville, pp. 62-67.

*Aneau:*

L'autre conseillera qu'il faut *assembler* les Alemans, l'autre qu'il faut *attirer* les Suisses par argent, l'autre sera d'opinion qu'on *appaie* & *rende propice* la *sacree majeste de l'Empereur* par une *offrande de grand nombre d'or*, l'autre de composer avec le Roy d'Arragon, & *ceder au Royaume de Navarre*, comme un gage de paix.

*Sorbière:*

... pendant que l'autre conseille de *prendre* les Allemans *à la solde* ; de *donner* quelque argent aux Suisses *pour les appaiser*; qu'un troisieme propose *d'attacher l'Empereur avec des chaines d'or*; qu'il semble bon à un autre de sortir premièrement d'affaires avec le Roy d'Arragon, *en luy cedant le Royaume de Navarre, lequel aussi on ne peut pas retenir aisement*.

*Gueudeville:*

... il faut *prendre* les Allemans *à louage*; *caresser* les Suisses avec de l'argent; *apaiser* la *Divinité Imperiale* en lui *sacrifiant de l'or*; s'accomoder avec le Roi d'Arragon & pour sureté de la Paix, lui *abandonner le Roiaume de Navarre* qui ne lui appartient point.

The word *conducendos* means not "to assemble" in this sentence but "to hire". Le Blond is wrong and has not been corrected by Aneau. On the other hand, Sorbière's "prendre à la solde" and Gueudeville's "prendre à louage" are accurate. The ironic tone achieved by metaphors like *demulcendos* escapes all but Gueudeville, whose "caresser" comes close to reproducing it; Le Blond's and Aneau's "attirer" is flat, while Sorbière's "donner ... pour les appaiser" is scarcely better. The phrase *numen ... propitiandum* has inspired some strange versions. Le Blond's is extremely inaccurate and contains the *faux sens* "comme s'on y procedoit par censures". Aneau has amplified *propitiandum* by adding "& rende propice" to "appaier", a practice beloved of Renaissance translators, but he does correct Le Blond. Sorbière's imagination soars to new heights with his "chaines d'or", while Gueudeville offers a rather free translation. The final phrase in the sentence, *alieno ... cedendum*; obviously proved difficult since Gueudeville is the only one to translate it correctly. Le Blond's "ceder au royaume de Navarre" is in fact a *contresens* which, again, Aneau fails to correct, but which is perhaps attributable to their omission of *alieno*. Sorbière translates only half of the phrase correctly; his "lequel on ne peut pas retenir aisement" is far from the mark.

The overall fidelity to More's style throughout the whole passage is



uneven. Hythloday's rather humorous, tongue-in-cheek description of himself as a *homuncio*, a little man, is translated successfully by Le Blond as "un homme de petite estoppe" and by Gueudeville as "un homme de rien", whereas Sorbière's "homme de ma taille" loses something of the tone. The old nautical metaphor that Hythloday uses in the same sentence (88/21), and that takes on added significance in the mouth of a narrator who is also a navigator, *verti iubeam vela*, eludes all but Gueudeville, who gives us "tourner les voiles". The plant image, *pullulare semina*, which occurs here (88/26) and elsewhere in *Utopia*, suffers a similar fate. As for the word *Euronoton* (88/26), used to describe the direction in which the Achorians live, "Utopiensium insulae ad Euronoton oppositi", it is translated by Le Blond as the south-east wind, rather than simply the south-east, which would be the more sensible rendering in this context. Even more confusing, however, is the addition of the totally inaccurate and contradictory "que les marigniers appellent le vent de sour-ouest" (my italics). Aneau's version furthers the confusion, as he retains the mistake and the addition but then inserts the correct "entre Orient & Midy" alongside. Sorbière omits the name completely, saying quite simply, and quite inaccurately of course, "le peuple est au zud-ouest de l'Utopie". Gueudeville is the furthest from the original, however, for he makes *Euronoton* a river.

The sentence that we looked at in some detail shows that Le Blond, Aneau and Sorbière are all careless in their renderings and that Gueudeville's translation is by far the most accurate. But how representative is the sentence of the whole passage? In translating the roughly seven hundred words of the original, Le Blond makes two *contresens*, or very serious mistranslations, two *faux sens*, or serious mistranslations, and seven minor mistranslations, three omissions, admittedly small ones<sup>13</sup>, and in two places elaborates on the Latin; he also renders several passages very weakly, as for example in his rendering of *atque alias praeterea gentes, quarum regnum iam olim animo invasit* (86/30-31) as "aultres contrees qu'on a eu vouloir d'assaillir". On the other hand, some passages are well rendered, both correctly and elegantly, like "audace se

<sup>13</sup> One of these omissions is minor in nature yet of interest because it is made by all four translators. Hythloday says of Naples that it is *fugitivam*, meaning that it has proved elusive (86/27). Since all five early Latin editions consulted do contain the adjective, and since there is no other indication in the text that the later translators consulted Le Blond or Aneau, there can be no other explanation than that of mere coincidence, unsatisfactory as that might be.

fortifioit par meurtres" for *confirmatam caedibus audaciam*. Aneau's reworking of the passage is very revealing indeed of his editing methods. There are five instances in which he fails to correct Le Blond's mistranslations; on the other hand, he makes fifteen changes (not counting modernization of spelling and punctuation) of which only six are really justified, and adds to Le Blond's mistakes one of his own. He does clarify one or two passages and compensates for one or two losses, but on the other hand he amplifies four phrases that were in no need of elaboration, being perfectly clear in the original translation. His corrections in this passage are thus very mixed in quality, and hardly constitute a mere "touching up".

Sorbière's rendering is far more inaccurate than either of its predecessors. This is due both to actual mistakes and to omissions, of which there are six in all. One change that is of interest is Sorbière's translation of *totam Burgundiam* as "le Franche Comte"; the latter was in fact only the county of Burgundy and not, as is probably suggested in More's text, all of Burgundy, both duchy and county. While not absolutely inaccurate, Sorbière's rendering is nevertheless limiting<sup>14</sup>. Like Aneau, Sorbière adds some phrases, amplifies others, and omits many words of varying importance. On the other hand, he does make an attempt to render More's colloquial and idiomatic Latin in this particular passage; he translates *suspiciantur* by the idiomatic "on aura l'œil sur eux" and *conatus bellorum* by "levees de bouclier", while he renders the conversational tone of More's *Hic, inquam, ... tot egregiis viris ad bellum sua certatim consilia conferentibus* (88/19-20) by "Pendant, disje, que des personnes de ceste condition ... ne cornent que la guerre". The three other translations are far more stilted than this and none attempts to translate *inquam*, for example.

While Gueudeville commits fewer serious mistranslations than any of his predecessors, he errs on the side of amplification, being at times so carried away that he oversteps the bounds of even "free translation". One example of this will suffice, but it is representative of much of his version. The phrase *Dum maximus omnium nodus occurrit, quid statuum interim de Anglia sit* elicits the verbose "On tremble enfin sur le sujet le plus epineux: Comment faut-il agir avec l'Angleterre? Quelles mesures doit-on prendre avec cette puissance maritime? c'est le nœu Gordien. On ne laisse pas d'entreprendre de la denouer".

<sup>14</sup> For an explanation of this phrase see the Yale *Utopia*, p. 353.

Our second passage, taken from Book II, describes Utopia's laws, which conform to the humanists' ideal of a simplified legal system<sup>15</sup>. The banishment of lawyers is More's presumably tongue-in-cheek contribution to the criticism of the legal profession in Europe, prevalent at the time. Like Budé, who comments on the passage in his letter to Lupset, More was of course a practising lawyer. His style in this description of Utopia's simplified legal system is, itself, appropriately simple and direct. How all the more ironical, therefore, that the dominant characteristic of all the translations except Chappuys' is amplification and elaboration. In Le Blond this takes the form of what we earlier referred to as the typical Renaissance practice of using two words for one in the original. Thus lawyers arguing "artfully" (*vafre*) in Le Blond "traictent les causes finement *et* cauteusement" while the *perplexissimarum legum* they interpret become "des loix perplexes *et* douteuses" (my italics). Aneau corrects none of these amplifications, but as a Renaissance translator himself, he would have seen no need to. Sorbière, who does not usually embroider his text in this manner, indulges in similar amplifications, making half a dozen in as many lines. Gueudeville's flights of imagination, however, are of a different order. They take the form of whole phrases or even paragraphs, and their tone betrays a vehemence that is absent in the original. More's simple *causidicos: qui causas tractent callide: ac leges vafre disputent: prorsus omnes excludunt* is rendered by Gueudeville's flowing pen as: "Les Avocats ne feroient pas fortune en ce Pais-la, sur tout, ceux qui entendent bien le Pour et le Contre, tordent finement, malicieusement les Lois, & les expliquent en faveur de la cause la plus inique; tous ces subtils & rudes Plaideurs n'ont rien a esperer en Utopie, on ne les y connait point; & s'ils y paroissent on les regarderoit comme les ennemis, comme les Pestes de l'Equité"<sup>16</sup>. If these translators' sins are those of commission, Chappuys' are those of omission. Notable are his omissions of the criticism levelled at European legal practices and the explanation Hythloday offers for the Utopians' simplified ones, which takes up a dozen lines or so in the original. That the omissions in this particular passage are in fact more numerous, proportionately, than

<sup>15</sup> Latin, 194/6-33; Le Blond, p. 75; Aneau, pp. 253-54; Chappuys, p. 308; Sorbière, pp. 156-57; Gueudeville, pp. 239-43.

<sup>16</sup> A rather amusing example of Gueudeville's predilection for outdoing More is his translation of *legis peritus*, used to describe the ordinary citizen; for Gueudeville the whole nation is "Docteur en Droit".

in any other is rather curious on two accounts. Chappuys was not himself a lawyer and therefore did not have to feel defensive about More's remarks and, secondly, he was presumably particularly interested in law since it, together with the government, is the very subject of the book in which his translation of *Utopia* appears.

In terms of accuracy, the passage on Utopian law is fairly well rendered by all except Chappuys. Le Blond's first sentence is rather free and less emphatic than the original. For *leges habent perquam paucas sufficiunt enim sic institutis paucissimae*, we find "Ils ont peu de loix & s'en contentent pource qu'ils sont bien regis & gouvernez". This is not changed by Aneau, who does however correct other free renderings and minor inaccuracies in the passage. An example of his editing process is apparent in the final sentence of the excerpt and does constitute, in this case, a "touching up" of Le Blond's text. The different renderings of this particular sentence are in fact worth comparing, for they are fairly representative of the translations from which they are taken. The common people, More tells us, cannot be expected to understand complicated laws, one of the reasons being that they are too busy having to earn a living: *neque vita in comparando victu occupata sufficere* (194/32-33). "Sa vie [la vie du peuple]", says Le Blond, "n'y peult suffire & vacquer, pource qu'elle est empeechee aux choses qui luy sont necessaires touchant boire et manger". Aneau retains the amplification "& vacquer" but changes the final words for "necessaires pour la vie commune", a more succinct translation of *victu*. Sorbière's version is much freer and more abstract, which removes it from More's text: "on ne peut scavoir [ces lois] qu'en quittant toute autre occupation pour les estudier". Gueudeville's final sentence displays the usual verbosity and the usual tendency to transpose More's work into the idiom of eighteenth-century France: "La Populace, dont les Lumieres sont tres courtes, & qui dans son ignorance ne s'occupe qu'à gagner la vie, cette Populace pourra-t-elle atteindre à la *Science Legislative*, à la *Metaphysique du Bareau*"?

The final section we are to consider is on religious practices in Utopia<sup>17</sup>. As we said on page 118, it was chosen not only for its intrinsic interest, but also because three out of our five translators were directly involved with Protestantism. Aneau lost his life because of his association with the Protestant-inclined Collège de la Trinité in Lyons, although he

<sup>17</sup> Latin, 216-36; Le Blond, pp. 88-101; Aneau, pp. 294-97; Chappuys, pp. 313-15; Sorbière, pp. 178-84; Gueudeville, pp. 282-94.

himself was not a professed Protestant as far as we know<sup>18</sup>. It is also perhaps significant that his translation was published by Saugrain, one of the most militant Protestants in Lyons from whose printing press issued a good many polemical Protestant works. Sorbière was brought up a Protestant, not embracing the Catholic faith until 1653, some ten years after translating the *Utopia*, whereas Gueudeville, on the other hand, was a Benedictine turned Protestant, converted thirty years before the appearance of his translation. Both Sorbière and Gueudeville had been refugees in Holland and were connected intimately with the Protestant cause there. Whether these facts affect the various translations we shall see.

The original chapter heading reads "De religionibus utopiensium". Le Blond's, which Aneau does not change, is an elaboration on More's straightforward title: "Du cultivement, maniere d'adorer, religion, & creance des Utopiens", each noun being in the singular. This is echoed by Chappuys' "De la religion des Utopiens". More, however, had clearly chosen to put the word in the plural, for surely Hythloday's point is that there is a plurality of religions in Utopia, and that these religions coexist and tolerate one another, unlike those in Europe, he implicitly suggests. Yet only Sorbière and Gueudeville respect the Latin plural form, with Gueudeville adding, no doubt for emphasis, an adjective: "*Des différentes religions*" (my italics). It is perhaps no mere coincidence that only these two translators, both overt Protestants, interpret the title in this way, as if to stress the Utopians' religious tolerance, a tolerance they themselves had not been shown.

Despite its unpromising title, Le Blond's translation of the passage is a fairly accurate one; the omissions are minor in nature but they do, for the most part, occur in higher proportion in the first part of the section dealing with tolerance. Notable also is the omission of those marginal glosses that constitute the most bitter criticism of the Catholic clergy and faithful, a point that we mentioned on page 122, when we stated that the proportion of glosses omitted in this section was far greater than in any other. The four out of the thirteen glosses that Le Blond does retain, and in fact translates very accurately, are all innocuous ones<sup>19</sup>. As he also

<sup>18</sup> Nicéron, *Mémoires*, p. 170, asserts that he was guilty of "seducing" the students of the Collège de la Trinité away from Catholicism but this is denied by all the subsequent reference works.

<sup>19</sup> *Laude trahendi sunt homines ad religionem; foeminae sacerdotes; excommunicatio; templi cuius modi.*

omits six other equally innocuous glosses, however, we should resist the temptation to impute these omissions to anything more than inadvertance. As for mistranslations in the passage, they are with a few exceptions of a relatively minor nature. Serious loss of tone occurs in some instances, however, as for example in the ironic *Sacerdotes habent eximia sanctitate, eoque admodum paucos*, which is rendered as “Ilz ont pareillement des prestres d'excellente saintete, & n'en ont gueres”; or again in the rather strong *Nihil enim sollicitius observant, quam ne temere quicquam ulla de religione pronuncient*, inadequately translated as “Ilz se gardent soigneusement de parler indiscretement d'auculne religion”.

Aneau's changes in Le Blond's text are of a similar nature to those effected in the other parts of the *Utopia*. He too omits the majority of the glosses — and in fact omits even one of Le Blond's, *templa cuius modi*. A comparison of our excerpt from the French King's Council with an excerpt of the same length from the section on religions (eighty-four lines of the original text) reveals that the number of mistakes that Aneau should have corrected but ignored is much higher in the latter. The two instances of loss of tone commented on above, for example, remain unchanged. As for Le Blond's omissions, they too go uncorrected more often in this section than in any other.

Chappuys' version of the section on religions is, like his section on the legal system, characterized by serious omissions. The most serious of these — thirty lines of the original — is the passage describing the arrival of Christianity in Utopia, the fate of the over-zealous Christian, and the Utopians' general attitude towards religious tolerance. He also omits all the glosses but provides two of his own: “Utopiens idolatres” and “Prestres esclues du peuple”. There are many mistranslations in the section, one of which shows a complete misunderstanding of the description of music in the religious life of Utopia for example, and many places where More's ironic tone is lost, as in the phrase we quoted in our discussion of Le Blond, and which concerned the virtues of Utopian priests: “Ils ont des Prestres de tres-sainte vie, mais ils n'en ont que treize en chacune ville”, says Chappuys, omitting the ironic *eoque admodum paucos* completely. Such omissions are, however, the overall characteristic of this translation and are not more serious in this section than elsewhere.

As for our two Protestant translators, their versions of this section of *Utopia* reveal several points of interest. Sorbière's is not more inaccurate than the preceding sections in terms of serious mistranslations or

omissions, but it is much freer. Whether the subject of religion fired his imagination we cannot know, but this section contains many more elaborations and they are of a much more poetic nature: wrangling and hatred born of religious intolerance “overthrow” peace—*everti* is the word used—but for Sorbière they “sappent les fondements”; not only will truth “emerge and prevail”—*emergat et emineat*—but “elles perceront tous les nuages du mensonge qui la couvrent”, an elaboration of which Gueudeville would be proud. Some words are of particular interest: “libertin” is used to describe those who do not believe in a guiding Providence or in an after-life: “bigoterie” translates *superstitio-nis vanae divinationes*; “molester” is used for *fraudi*; and “Pape” for *pontifex*, where the context demands “eveque”. The irony is not lost, either, in any of the places where it is clearly intended in the original. This section is, in fact, very carefully translated.

Gueudeville's translation, we have stressed throughout this article, is by far the least faithful in some ways of all the five we are considering, on account of its elaborations, comments and digressions which change the overall tone of More's work. Nowhere is this clearer than in the section on religions, which contains no fewer than eighty. Moreover, their nature is such that a complete shift in tone is effected; they become for Gueudeville a vehicle of his bitterest anti-Catholic and anti-clerical sentiments. Again, the choice of vocabulary is revealing: *vera* becomes “un Article de votre Catechisme”; *caelibum* are “ces Rigides” and “ces Mortificateurs”; those that do not believe are “libertins”, “esprits forts”, “Incredules” and “infamissimes”. Also interesting is the use of “pasteurs” for the Utopian priests, *sacerdotes*, a word usually reserved for Protestant ministers.

In our Introduction, we suggested that these five translations of More's *Utopia* were of interest, not only on account of their individual merits but also because they illustrated the changing attitudes towards and practices of translation in the period 1550-1730. This has been clearly shown in our discussion of the prefatory materials, which for four of the translators at least—Chappuys being the exception—express the purposes of the translation—edification and instruction—and the methods used. As for the translations themselves, they too reflect fairly accurately the changes wrought in the nature of translation in the period. Le Blond's and Aneau's versions exhibit several characteristics of Renaissance translations, although their high level of accuracy is surpri-

sing: the use of two words for one, the occasional indulgence in a brief, added explanatory phrase, and a disregard for the overall tone and style of the original—their French is more elevated than More's Latin. Chappuys' translation, in its greater inaccuracy, is perhaps more typical of the period. Sorbière stands midway between the Renaissance translators and the authors of the notoriously unfaithful products of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, paraphrases rather than translations, and very free paraphrases at that. Gueudeville brings us full-tilt into that age of the *belles infidèles*, although truth to tell, the infidelity of his *Utopie* is scarcely redeemed by much beauty. Nevertheless, in its updating of vocabulary to suit current European political and social realities, and in its unbelievably long digressions and elaborations, it is unfortunately quite typical of many of the translations done at the time. Whatever their merits, however, and whatever their contribution to the history of translation, one fact remains: these five translations shed further light on the early career of Thomas More's *Utopia* in France, and serve as further testimony to the popularity of both the author and his work in that country, a popularity that transcended both national and religious differences.

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DAS *MELLIFICIUM*:  
DIE 'HONIGMANUFAKTUR' ALS ANTHOLOGIE-GATTUNG  
DER NEULATEINISCHEN LITERATUR

Im Rahmen des deutschen Schul- und Universitätsbetriebs in der Zeit zwischen 1500 und 1700 galt es, den Schülern und Studenten einen möglichst großen Schatz an *loci communes* zu vermitteln. Nicht nur der Alten denkwürdigste *sententiae*, *apophthegmata*, *dicta* und *versiculi* sollten fleißig in die Kollektaneenhefte aufgezeichnet werden; sobald diese sozusagen verbraucht waren, kamen auch die *recentiores*, manchmal sogar noch zu Lebzeiten, an die Reihe. Ebenso fleißig versorgten auch die Verleger diesen Markt mit allerlei Anthologien, Florilegien und dergleichen mehr, um das Suchen nach jeglichem zur *copia* geeigneten Material zu erleichtern, wobei es zunehmend mehr um die *copia* um ihrer selbst willen ging, und nicht mehr so sehr um die zu beweisende Sache. Es ist nicht üblich, zwischen diesen Gattungen zu unterscheiden und ihre jeweiligen Traditionen einzeln bis in ihren Ursprung zurückzuverfolgen, fehlen doch dazu verlässliche Unterscheidungskriterien, sofern die verschiedenen Gattungsbezeichnungen vielfach austauschbar angewendet wurden. Im Folgenden wird jedoch der Versuch unternommen, eine dieser eng verwandten Gattungen, nämlich das *Mellificium*, aufgrund ihrer besonderen Merkmale von der wimmelnden Masse solcher Schriften auszusondern und historisch-deskriptiv zu betrachten. Um das immerhin zeitlich zu fixierenden *Mellificium* weiter zu isolieren, können wir uns nur ganz bedingt auf die äußere Erscheinungsweise des gesammelten und anthologisierten Materials beziehen. Viel wichtiger erscheint mir ein Verständnis für den Sinn und Zweck des Sammelns, nämlich in der Art der *imitatio*, der das *Mellificium* dienen sollte.

Ihre Einstellung zur literarischen *imitatio* haben sowohl die Alten als auch die Humanisten bekanntlich in Gleichnissen zum Ausdruck gebracht. Die Begriffe des Florilegiums und der Anthologie als eine Blütenlese deuten auf eine Sammlertätigkeit, welche der *imitatio* als

Fundgrube dient. Zwar findet sich das Bienengleichnis u.a. schon bei Platon *Ion* 534 und Lukrez *De Rerum natura* III, 11, wo die Sammlertätigkeit der Bienen auf die Dichter übertragen wird, welche "aurea dicta" sammeln. Wörtlich heißt es bei Lukrez:

Floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant,  
omnia nos itidem depascimur aurea dicta ...

Aber solche Formulierungen enthalten nichts von der eigenen produktiven Verarbeitung des ausgelesenen Stoffes.

In frühen landwirtschaftlichen Schriften schrieb man gelegentlich über die Tätigkeit der Bienen, insbesondere über den Prozeß des Honigmachens. In solchen Zusammenhängen schreiben Varro und Columella in ihren Schriften *De Re Rustica* über das *mellificium*, jedoch nur in seiner eigentlichen Bedeutung. Varro bemerkt, daß Thymum die Honigmanufaktur sehr fördert<sup>1</sup>. Nach Columella können die Bienenstöcke aussterben, wenn es mehrere Jahre nacheinander überreiche Blüte gibt und die Bienen sich mehr um die Honigmanufaktur als um Nachwuchs kümmern<sup>2</sup>.

Seit Seneca ist die Akzentsetzung im Bienengleichnis anders<sup>3</sup>, sofern er diese Tätigkeit des Mellificiums offenbar auf den literarischen Menschen überträgt, der nicht nur viel lesen, sondern auch das Gelesene geistig verarbeiten muß. Bei ihm ist die metaphorische Biene nicht nur ein Sammler, der in einem passiven Verhältnis zum Honig steht. Sie sammelt Säfte, aus denen sie den Honig erst fertigt. Ein solches Verfahren, gekennzeichnet nicht nur durch die Aufnahme, sondern auch durch die Verwandlung und Neugestaltung des erlesenen Materials durch die Bienen, läßt sich recht eigentlich als *mellificium* bezeichnen, in einem Begriff also, der viel genauer dem beschriebenen *imitatio*-Verfahren entspricht, als etwa der des Florilegiums. Im 84. Brief an Lucilius kommt Seneca auf das Verhältnis von passivem Lesen und aktivem schriftlichem Verarbeiten des Gelesenen zu schreiben. Man dürfe die Bienen wohl nachahmen, "quae vagantur et flores ad mel faciendum idoneos carpunt, deinde, quicquid attulere disponunt ac per favos digerunt et, ut Vergilius noster ait

<sup>1</sup> Varro, *De Re rustica* 3, 16. 14: "aptissimum ... ad mellificium thymum".

<sup>2</sup> Columella, *De Re rustica* 9, 13. 13: "est ... causa interitus, quod ... apes magis mellificiis quam fetibus student".

<sup>3</sup> Jürgen von Stackelberg, "Das Bienengleichnis: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der literarischen *Imitatio*", *Romanische Forschungen* 68 (1956), 271-293.

liquentia mella  
stipant et dulci distendunt nectare cellas". (Ep. 84.3)

Die späteren Belege für die Behandlung der *lectio-imitatio*-Frage in der Form des Bienengleichnisses gehen im großen und ganzen auf Seneca zurück.

Unter den Humanisten hat nun Erasmus in diesem Bienengleichnis in Anlehnung auf Plutarchus neue Aspekte entdeckt und es nach seinem Sinne appliziert, um seine polemische Wiederlegung der übertriebenen Cicero-Nachahmung zu erläutern. Cicero selbst, als Vermittler der griechischen Kultur in Rom, habe sie im Prozeß der Aneignung der römischen Situation anverwandelt. Der Cicero-Nachahmer sollte daher nicht seine *Sprache* nachahmen, sondern seine Art, das Überlieferte zu aktualisieren<sup>4</sup>. Die Bienen des Erasmus sammeln die Substanz für das Honigmachen ("mellificii materiam") nicht von einem einzigen Blütenstrauch, sondern holen sie, oft von weit her, von Blüte zu Blüte, von Pflanze zu Pflanze, bereiten sie auf und wandeln sie zu etwas Eigenem um<sup>5</sup>. Der Sinn dieser Formulierung unterscheidet sich von dem ihrer Vorgänger in seiner anticiceronianischen Polemik. Für dieses Verfahren lieferte Erasmus manch kunstvolles Musterbeispiel, in dem die individuell ausgelesenen Komponente zu einem nahtlosen Ganzen zusammen gebracht wurden. Vorherrschend ist bei Erasmus indessen der in der Plutarchus-Paraphrase angedeutete Zweck des Verfahrens. Die Anwendung des gesammelten Gutes dient nämlich nicht der bloßen Aus-

<sup>4</sup> Dazu die Diskussion bei Hans Gerd Rötzer, *Traditionalität und Modernität in der europäischen Literatur* (Darmstadt, 1979), Ss. 77-78.

<sup>5</sup> Desiderius Erasmus, *Ciceronianus*, in *Opera omnia*, I/2 (Amsterdam, 1971), S. 652: "Concoquendum est, quod varia diutinaque lectione devoraris, meditatione traiciendum in vaenas animi, potiusquam in memoriam aut indicem, ut omni pabulorum genere saginatum ingenium ex sese gignat orationem, quae non hunc aut illum florem, frondem, gramenve redoleat: sed indolem affectusque pectoris tui, ut qui legit non agnoscat fragmenta e Cicerone decerpta, sed imaginem mentis omni genere doctrinarum expletae ... Si te parum movet exemplum amasii tui, contemplemur exempla naturae. Apes num ex uno frutice colligunt mellificii materiam? An potius ad omnes florum, herbarum, fruticum species mira sedulitate circumvolant, frequenter longinquo petentes quod condant in alvearia? Nec statim mel est quod adferunt, fingunt ore visceribusque suis liquorem, ac in ipsas transformatum rursus ex sese gignunt, in quo non agnoscas, nec floris, nec fruticis delibati saporem, odoremve, sed apiculae foetum ex omnibus illis temperatum ..." Vgl. dazu Plutarchus, *De Recta ratione audiendi* 41F-42A, eine Stelle, die Filippo Picinello, *Mundus Symbolicus* (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1687), S. 500a, ohne Angabe der Quelle wie folgt wiedergibt: "Ut apes etiam amarissimo thymo insident, atque inde mellificium colligunt, sic oportet auditorem, non flosculos orationis voluptatis causa sectari, sed vim sententiarum et utilitatem".

schmückung der Rede. Zum *mellificium* sammeln die Bienen das Nützliche und Praktische, sodaß ganz im Sinne des Plutarchus die Absicht des Redners und die tiefere Bedeutung seiner Worte wahrgenommen werden.

Marcus Antonius Muretus (1526-1585) widmet das erste Kapitel des achten Buches in seinem vielgelesenen *Variarum lectionum libri XV* einem ausführlichen Vergleich zwischen den Bienen und den Dichtern. Von Pindar und Horaz ausgehend notiert er, daß beide auf gleicher Weise im Honigmachen aktiv sind<sup>6</sup>. Damit wird zwar der Prozeß des Dichtens als *mellificium* ausgefaßt und thematisiert, aber erst von seinem Schüler Justus Lipsius gehen die wesentlichsten Impulse für die Entstehung und Popularisierung des *Mellificiums* als Gattung aus.

In der Form einer sehr kontroversen Radikalisierung des von Seneca und Erasmus beschriebenen Verfahrens veröffentlichte Lipsius 1589 seine *Politiorum Libri Sex*. Wie er nun den *imitatio*-Begriff auffaßt, bringt er in einleitenden Bemerkungen in aller Deutlichkeit zum Ausdruck. Für sein Buch hat Lipsius einen Stil benutzt, in welchem, wie er sagt, alles sein eigenes und nichts sein eigenes sei. Er habe, besonders bei den Geschichtsschreibern, nach Wendungen und Maximen gesucht, und diese ordentlich mit den Marmorstückchen seiner Wörter befestigt<sup>7</sup>. Dabei war Lipsius nicht sonderlich darum bemüht, das von ihm gesammelte Material so zu verarbeiten, daß wörtliche Anklänge an seine Quellen vermieden werden, wie etwa Petrarcha konstatiert hatte<sup>8</sup>. Vielmehr sollte die Aufnahme und Integration des antiken Gutes in seinem politischen Hauptwerk auch unter offensichtlicher Beibehaltung

<sup>6</sup> Muretus, *Variarum lectionum libri XV* in *Opera*, III (Veronae, 1728), S. 182: "Libenter ac saepe faciunt poetae, ut se quidem apibus, studium autem suum mellificio cuidam comparent".

<sup>7</sup> "De Consilio et forma nostri operis" in *Politiorum sive civilis doctrinae libri sex*, in *Opera omnia*, II, (Antverpiae, 1637), S. 9: "Cum venia igitur nos quoque haec scribimus: praesertim alio quodam & novo plane modo. Nam inopinatum quoddam stili genus instituimus: in quo vere possim dicere, omnia nostra esse, & nihil. Cum enim inventio tota & ordo a nobis sint, verba tamen & sententias varie conquisivimus a scriptoribus priscis. idque maxime ab Historicis: hoc est, ut ego censeo, a fonte ipso Prudentiae Civilis. Nec huc ambitio nos aut novitatis ventus impulit (ingenue id testor:) sed tuus fructus. Quid utilius potui, quam tot sententias, in unum conducere; pulchras, acres, & ita me salus amet, ad salutem natas generis humani? Nam quod ego eadem dicerem: ecquando mihi eadem vis aut fides? Ut in uno aliquo telo aut gladio multum interest, a qua manu veniat: sic in sententiam, ut penetret, valde facit robustae alicuius & receptae auctoritatis pondus. Atqui ea veteribus adest. Nec vero nudas aut sparsas sententias dedimus; ne diffluent, & esset, quod dicitur, *Arena sine calce*: sed eas aut inter se haud indecenter vinximus, aut interdum velut caemento quodam commisimus nostrorum verborum".

<sup>8</sup> Dazu Stachelberg, Ss. 282-284.

seines ursprünglichen Wortlauts und sogar unter Angabe der Quelle vollzogen werden. Zwar darf auch bei Lipsius von der eigenen produktiven Umarbeitung des ausgelesenen Stoffes die Rede sein, schreibt er doch gelegentlich, er sei Architekt, der das verschiedenste Material von überall hernimmt, und zwar kein besserer Architekt als der Spinne, der aus sich selber, und kein schlechterer als die Biene, die aus Fremdem schöpft<sup>9</sup>. Nur meinten seine Gegner, dieser Stoff sei nicht genügend integriert in das neue Werk. Das Neugeschaffene sei daher stilistisch stachelig, ihm fehle die erforderliche *concinnitas*. Trotz aller solchen Einwände entstand auf dieser Weise ein Werk, welches nun nicht nur *mel* produzierte, sondern von seinen Nachfolgern und Nachäffern in den Niederlanden und in Deutschland als *Mellificium* aufgefaßt wurde. Sein *Politicorum Libri Sex* und viele andere seiner Werke dienten späteren Generationen als Fundgruben bedeutsamer Sentenzen und einprägsamer Wendungen aller Art. Wo er auch immer auftritt, bleibt das *Mellificium* als Gattungsbezeichnung direkt oder indirekt auf den *imitatio*-Begriff des Lipsius bezogen, den wir als seine durch seine Beschäftigung mit Tacitus und Seneca bedingte Radikalisierung des altbewahrten Verfahrens charakterisieren möchten.

Seine eigentliche Geschichte beginnt 1591, zwei Jahre nach Erscheinen der Staatslehre Lipsius, mit der Veröffentlichung vom *Mellificium duplex ex media philosophia petitur: alterum continens elegantissima similia: alterum vero gravissimos aphorismos, seu sententias: ex praeclarissimis & omnium temporum immortalitate dignissimis I. Lipsi monumentis confectum* gedruckt<sup>10</sup>. Als verantwortliche Biene zeichnete sich Nicolaus Stochius (gest. 1598), ein Professor im Leidener Gymnasium. Sein *Mellificium* wurde außerdem 1596 und 1599 in Deutschland unter dem Titel *Flores totius philosophiae ex praeclarissimis & omnium temporum immortalitate dignissimis Iusti Lipsii monumentis confectum* gedruckt.

Diese relativ bescheidene Ausbeutung der Werke des Lipsius durch Stochius diente Joachim Niseus (1574-1634) einige Jahre später als Grundlage für das viel umfangreichere *Mellificium sive syntagma delitia-*

<sup>9</sup> Lipsius, IV, S. 121.

<sup>10</sup> (Lugduni Batavorum, 1591). Das Werk erschien noch im selben Jahr in Frankfurt bei Wechsel und Fischer. Der erste Teil wurde 1595 in Rahmen der *Similium loci communes ex var. author.* von Conrad Lycosthenes unter dem Titel *Similia ex Iusti Lipsii monumentis excerpta* wahrscheinlich in Genf gedruckt. Das ganze Werk wurde 1599 in Magdeburg wiederaufgelegt. Stochius' Werk hat mit einer von Franciscus Sweertius herausgegebenen Anthologie *Iusti Lipsii Flores* (1615) nichts zu tun.

*rum quae in praeclarissimis Iusti Lipsi monumentis hactenus editis passim habentur: complectens exquisitissima similia, & gravissimas sententias, ex media philosophia petitas* (1606)<sup>11</sup>. Niseus, Subrektor und Prediger in Berlin, studierte von 1596 bis 1600 an der Universität Wittenberg und war somit unter den ersten Deutschen, die um die Jahrhundertwende von Wittenberg, Heidelberg und Jena aus die ungeheure Wirkung des niederländischen Humanismus auf das deutsche Geistesleben auslösten. Dieser Ausgabe, sowie auch einer späteren Ausgabe aus dem Jahre 1678, wurde als *epistola ad autorem* ein Brief an Niseus vorangestellt, der von seinem berühmten Wittenberger Professor und Lipsius-Verehrer Friedrich Taubmann (1565-1613) herrührt. In Niseus' Anthologie und in diesem Brief dokumentiert sich die erste Phase der Popularisierung des *Mellificiums*, das als Gattung bald zum wichtigen Vehikel für die Verbreitung des Lipsianismus in Deutschland wurde. Taubmann ist sich bewußt, daß Niseus nicht der Urheber dieser Gattung ist ("Quid alius ante te in hoc genere attentarit, scimus ..."), doch findet er für den Fleiß seines Berliner Kollegen hohe Anerkennung. Taubmann berührt auch die stilistische Problematik solcher Sammlungen, sofern der Leser der Versuchung erliegen könnte, das im *Mellificium* enthaltene Material abrupt, zu häufig oder ohne Kontext als selbständige Floskeln anzubringen. Insofern distanziert sich Taubmann von dem Lipsianischen Stilverfahren des *arena sine calce*, das in der Antike als Vorwurf gegen Seneca geltend gemacht wurde, und lobt gerade den Wert seiner Werke als Fundgrube einprägsamer Formulierungen seiner Weisheit<sup>12</sup>.

Aber nicht jeder teilte Taubmanns positive Einstellung zu solchen Honiglesen. Wenn wir das bekannte Gedicht von Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655) "*Lusus ad apiculas*" ins rechte Licht rücken, so wird wahrscheinlich, daß diese Anthologien bald auf kritische Ablehnung stießen. In diesem *laudatio funebris*, das Heinsius 1606 anlässlich des Todes von Lipsius schrieb, werden die Bienen nämlich aufgefordert, zum Grab des Freundes zu fliegen. Dort sollen die Bienen den von Lipsius für seine Werke entliehenen Honig wieder aufsaugen, um gleichzeitig das *mellificium* vor talentlosen Dieben zu schützen, falls diese sich unrechtmäßig an den kostbaren Stoff heranmachen<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Niseus, *Mellificium sive syntagma deliciarum* (Francofurti, 1606). Ich habe die 1678 bei Richter in Bautzen gedruckte Ausgabe benutzt.

<sup>12</sup> Niseus, *Mellificium* (1678), S. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Dazu Frederick M. Rener, "Opitz' Sonett an die Bienen", in *Europäische Tradition und deutscher Literaturbarock*, ed. Gerhart Hoffmeister (Bern, 1973), Ss. 72-73, wo auch

Die Gattung des *Mellificium*s beschränkte sich in der Folge nicht nur auf Sammlungen der Sentenzen und Gleichnisse des Lipsius, doch lassen sich auch hier die Verbindungen zum niederländischen Humanismus und zu Lipsius selbst keineswegs vermissen. In dem sehr umfangreichen *Mellificium atticum in quo flosculi, ex omnium poetarum graecorum ... in locos communes ordine distribuuntur* (1627) des reformierten Gelehrten Daniel Pareus (ca. 1605-1630) besitzen wir ein Werk, das sich durchaus seiner Traditionszugehörigkeit bewußt geblieben ist; nur faßt Pareus die Grenzen der Gattung offenbar ganz locker auf, denn das Rohmaterial für sein *Mellificium* ist durchwegs griechischen Ursprungs. Unter denen, deren Leistungen in dieser Gattung hervorleuchten, nennt Pareus in dem *praefatio dedicatoria* Lipsius, neben dessen Nachfolger in Löwen Erycius Puteanus, sowie auch einige namhafte reformierte Gelehrte, welche zwar ähnliche Anthologien herausgaben, die jedoch nicht *Mellificium* heißen.

Das vergleichsmäßig armselige Büchlein von Johann Ulrich Müeffling (genannt Weiß) mit der Überschrift *Mellificium observationum nobilium*<sup>14</sup>, verdiente sonst kaum unsere Aufmerksamkeit. Es ist 1624 in Jena entstanden, wo Lipsius ein Menschenalter vorher gewirkt hatte. Müefflings Sammelfleiß wurde offenbar überwacht von seinen Jenaer Professoren Wolfgang Heider und Philipp Horst, welche beide in Wittenberg studiert hatten. Über den Verfasser ist sonst nichts bekannt.

Dafür, daß Lipsius um diese Zeit besonders in Jena noch hochaktuell war, liefern einige Werke des bekannten Theologen und Professors Johann Matthäus Meyfart (1590-1642) den besten Beweis. Nach Studienaufenthalt in Jena und Wittenberg wurde Meyfart Professor auf dem Casimirum in Coburg, wo er 1630 Lipsius' bis dahin unveröffentlichte oratorische Vorlesungen *De Ratione dicendi* zum Druck beförderte<sup>15</sup>. Schon zwei Jahre früher wurde das von ihm zusammen mit seinem Kollegen Melchior Steinbrück zusammengestellte *Mellificium oratorium* in Leipzig veröffentlicht, das noch erweitert und bis 1701 dreimal wieder

das Gedicht von Heinsius vollständig abgedruckt ist. Auf diese Zusammenhänge kommt Ulrich Bornemann, *Anlehnung und Abgrenzung: Untersuchungen zur Rezeption der niederländischen Literatur in der deutschen Dichtungreform des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Assen/Amsterdam, 1976), nicht zu sprechen.

<sup>14</sup> Müeffling, *Mellificium observationum nobilium* (Jenae, 1624).

<sup>15</sup> Für eine Beschreibung dieses zu wenig beachteten Werkes vgl. Stefan Fisch, "Johann Matthäus Meyfarts Edition der 'Oratoria Institutio' des Justus Lipsius", *Germanisch-Romanische Monatshefte*, 31 (1981), Ss. 357-361.

aufgelegt wurde<sup>16</sup>. Für dieses *Mellificium* lieferte Lipsius sehr viel Material, doch sind auch zahlreiche reformierte und jesuitische Gelehrte vertreten. Die problematische Tendenz, solche Honiglesen nicht mehr im Sinne der gemäßigten, zweckgebundenen Erläuterung, sondern um der sich prunkenden Redekunst willen als *flosculi* zu erfinden und anzuwenden, schlägt sich recht deutlich in Meyfarts rhetorische Schriften nieder. Meyfart und Steinbrück begleiteten das *Mellificium oratorium* daher mit einem *Informatorium pro eloquentiae romanae tyronibus, studiosis et candidatis* auf dessen Titelblatt sie ihr Interesse daran bekunden, ihren Schülern zu zeigen, wie "Flores in *Mellificio Oratorio* appositi, commode & concinne ... peti, deprimi & adhiberi debeant". Die Absicht, sein *Mellificium* zu übersetzen, falls es "von Gelehrten für rathsam erachtet wird", und ein *Mellificium oratorium ecclesiasticum* zu sammeln, ging nicht in Erfüllung<sup>17</sup>. Der zweite Band (1633) fand sich in die Hände des berühmten Dichters Paul Fleming (1609-1640), der sich in der Form eines lateinischen, in der Fleming-Forschung als verschollen geltenden Gedichts für die Gabe bedankte<sup>18</sup>.

In Meyfarts *Mellificium oratorium* fand die Gattung des *Mellificiums* ihren Abschluß. Sie erlebte ihre Blüte in einer Zeit, als Sentenzen, Aphorismen und Gleichnisse nicht mehr bei sparsamer Anwendung hauptsächlich im Sinne der Dialektik dem *docere* untergeordnet waren, wie sie noch Erasmus aufgefaßt hatte, sondern als sie geradezu den ganzen *raison d'être* der Rede ausmachten. Diese Tendenz machte sich jedoch nicht nur bei unserem *Mellificium* bemerkbar, sondern überall im siebzehnten Jahrhundert dort, wo gnomische Redensarten angebracht wurden.

Es dürfte kaum möglich sein, das *Mellificium* allein aufgrund seines Inhalts von anderen Gattungen zu unterscheiden. Wie andere solche

<sup>16</sup> Johannes Matthäus Meyfart, *Mellificium oratorium* (Lipsiae, 1628). Die nicht ganz unkomplizierte Druckgeschichte des Werkes ist in der von Erich Trunz zusammengestellten Bibliographie zu finden [= Meyfart, *Teutsche Rhetorica oder Redekunst*. Reprographischer Nachdruck der Ausgabe Coburg, 1634. Deutsche Neudrucke, Reihe Barock, Nr. 25 (Tübingen, 1977), Ss. 19\*, 21\*, und 24\*]. Auf dem Titelblatt der von mir eingesehenen Ausgabe des ersten Bandes des *Mellificium oratorium* aus dem Jahre 1662 steht "Lipsius: Ut e fonte quod hausimus nostrum est, quisque tamen suo vase; sic quod e communibus scriptoribus, sed quisque pro sui iudicii modo".

<sup>17</sup> Meyfart, *Teutsche Rhetorica oder Redekunst* (1977), Buch 2, S. 54.

<sup>18</sup> Abgedruckt in Meyfart, *Mellificium oratorium*, II (Lipsiae, 1669), unpag. Vgl. Paul Flemings lateinische Gedichte, ed. J. M. Lappenberg. Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, Nr. 73 (Stuttgart, 1863), Ss. 478-479.



Gattungsbegriffe der Humanisten, geht der Begriff des *Mellificiums* auf ein Naturverfahren zurück, welches die Alten zunächst nur im eigentlichen Verstand kannten. Trotzdem erlauben uns mehrere Umstände, vom *Mellificium* als von einer eigenständigen Gattung zu sprechen. Das *mellificium*, zunächst nur als Begriff und noch nicht als Gattung, deutet auf eine gewisse Einstellung zu einem gesammelten und unverwandelnd nachzuahmenden Stoff hin. Wohl aus diesem Grunde glauben sich Pareus und der Hamburger Conrektor Johannes Starke (gest. 1623) berechtigt, neben Lipsius verschiedene ältere und jüngere Gelehrte im Zusammenhang des *Mellificiums* anzuführen, obwohl diese kein Werk unter diesem Namen veröffentlichten. Als Gattung erscheint das *Mellificium* eindeutig im Zeichen des deutschen Lipsianismus, der knapp vor Ende des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts in Wittenberg und Jena Fuß faßte und sich schnell verbreitete. Während frühere Sammler in die antiken und patristischen Felder gezogen waren, um Honigmaterial aufzuspüren, zeigen die modernen Bienen hingegen ein ausgesprochenes Geschmack für modernes Material, und es ist allgemein, wenn auch nicht immer kennzeichnend für die Gattung des *Mellificiums*, daß denk- und merkwürdige Aussagen der neueren gesammelt und verarbeitet werden sollen. Implizit drückt sich im Begriff des *Mellificiums* die Absicht aus, das gesammelte Material verarbeitet anzuwenden. Trotzdem war man sich über die genaue Art der *imitatio* nicht einig. Einige hielten es mit Lipsius, der sein Material unter Angabe der Quelle wörtlich einfügend verarbeitete. Andere Lipsius-Anhänger, wie zum Beispiel Montaigne, zogen wegen ihrer erhöhten *concinnitas* die *imitatio*-Auffassung des Petrarca vor, nach der wörtliche Anklänge vermieden werden sollten<sup>19</sup>.

Der Gattung des *Mellificiums* war kein langes Leben beschieden. Das Erscheinen von Pareus' *Mellificium atticum* deutet schon darauf hin, daß die Gattung bald genug ihren ursprünglichen Profil einbüßte. Zeugnisse ihres Nachwirkens scheinen recht sparsam zu sein. In seinem Lehrbuch *Institutio philologica et rhetorica de stilo* (1621) kommt Johannes Starke auf den besonders von den neueren Philologen bevorzugten *stilus floridus* zu sprechen. In diesem exzerpierten die *recentiores* freier als die Älteren und stellten wie die Bienen die Substanz zum Honigmachen aus verschiedenen Blumen her<sup>20</sup>. Als beispiel für dieses Verfahren wird neben anderen auch Lipsius genannt.

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. dazu Stackelberg, S. 282.

<sup>20</sup> Starcke, *Institutio Philologica et Rhetorica de Stilo* (Hamburg, 1621), Ss. 110-111: "Nam cum viderent, a quibusdam neminem in scribendo, ab aliis solum Ciceronem ad

Abschließend sei auch das spätere, historisch zurückblickende Urteil des umsichtigen Kieler Polyhistor Daniel Georg Morhof erwähnt. Dieser richtet seine Aufmerksamkeit auf das für Deutschland wohl wichtigste Beispiel dieser Gattung, also auf Meyfarts *Mellificium oratorium*. Er möchte das Werk zwar nicht ganz verwerfen, doch hat er daran mancherlei auszusetzen. Mayfarts *Mellificium* habe die auserlesenen Autoren nicht, dafür aber neuere, auch stilistisch schlechte aufgenommen. Morhof vermißt Titelangaben, welche die Ermittlung der Quellen erleichtern würde, und warnt Lehrer und Schüler vor dem Mißbrauch einer ohnehin mangelhaften Sammlung<sup>21</sup>. Wir dürfen mit einiger Berechtigung nicht nur in diesem Urteil, sondern auch vielleicht in der verschlüsselten Kritik des Heinsius einen Hauptgrund für das frühe Aussterben des *Mellificiums* als Gattung suchen.

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imitandum sumi, ipsi liberius egerunt, & ex variis Autoribus suum stilum, ceu apes ex variis floribus mellificium, confecerunt".

<sup>21</sup> Morhof, *Polyhistor*, I (Lubecae, 1732), S. 954: "... Mayfart scripsit ille *Mellificium Oratorium*, in quo Eloquentiae flores a variis Oratorum viridariis defracti, & in suas velut areolas sunt digesti. Non placet Viri istius labor: nam paucissima habet ex Cicerone, unde tamen mellificium suum locupletare unice potuisset. Tum & inter recentiores delectum non habet, sed promiscue e quibusvis colligit, cum praeferendi fuissent probatiores". Vgl. mit zum Teil anderer Akzentsetzung die Rezension in Morhofs *Delitiae Oratoriae Intimioris, Sive de Dilatatione & Amplificatione Rhetoricae Liber* (Lubecae, 1701), S. 44.

Chris L. HEESAKKERS

TRAGOEDIA DIDO P. CUNAEI  
(Leiden University Library, MS. Cun. 7)\*

Introduction

I

The legendary Carthaginian queen Dido without doubt is one of the best known female characters of the ancient Latin literature. She owes her fame primarily to the roles Virgil has given her in the first four books of his *Aeneid*. Virgil's critics have sometimes had some difficulty with the strongly tragic and sentimental character Dido displays, particularly in the fourth book<sup>1</sup>. This character is not always quite fitting in an epic context. On the other hand, Dido readily reminds the reader of the *Medea* of Euripides and the telling of her story shows undeniable affinity with the amatory narrative. Not surprisingly therefore, the most productive poeta amoris of Latin antiquity, Ovid, used the story twice over. In his *Fasti*, the feast of the Ides of March in honour of Anna Perenna<sup>2</sup>, offered him the opportunity of introducing her sad fate and in his *Heroides* he gave Dido, as the only person from the Latin tradition, a place in his gallery of eloquent heroines. It is exactly this seventh heroic letter, *Dido Aeneae*, which in antiquity had already been imitated: the *Anthologia Latina* has an *Epistola Didonis Aeneae* of 150 verses, which Heinrich Dörrie assumes to have been written around 300 A.D.<sup>3</sup>. About

\* I am indebted to Mrs. Jane Zaat-Jones (Oegstgeest) for correcting the most obvious errors in my English.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. C. Monti, *The Dido Episode and the Aeneid* (Leiden, 1981), pp. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Ovid, *Fasti* III 45 sqq., and R. J. Littlewood, "Ovid and the Ides of March (*Fasti* 3.523-710): a Further Study in the Artistry of the *Fasti*", in: *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*, II, ed. C. Deroux, Collection Latomus, vol. 168 (Bruxelles, 1980), pp. 301-321.

<sup>3</sup> *Anthologia Latina*, ed. Shackleton Bailey, I, 1 (Stuttgart, 1982), Nr. 71; H. Dörrie, *Der heroische Brief. Bestandsaufnahme, Geschichte, Kritik einer humanistisch-barocken Literaturgattung*, (Berlin, 1968), p. 97.

two centuries later, we find among the rhetorical exercises of Bishop Ennodius, the *Dictiones*, a speech by Dido, “cum abeuntem videret Aenean”<sup>4</sup>.

Besides this Vergilian and Ovidian Dido tradition, antiquity knows a second version of the tale of Dido’s fortunes. It claims a more historical value because of its context, since it has come to us through the *Epitome* by Justinus of the *Historiae Philippicae* of Pompeius Trogus<sup>5</sup>. The tale concentrates on the events in Dido’s native town Tyrus, on her flight and on the founding of Carthago. No word is said about an encounter, let alone an affair, with Aeneas. If Dido ends her life by suicide, the motive is, in a way, the opposite of the one Virgil gives: she commits suicide because it is the only way for her to remain faithful to her murdered husband Sichaeus and to resist effectively to the obtrusive courtship of king Iarbas.

If such a historicising tradition is less appealing to the imagination than the epical and lyrical one, it has, nevertheless, been an enrichment of the material of the Dido story. This is proved by the way Dido is sometimes presented in the late medieval and Renaissance literature. Justinus’ tale provides Boccaccio with the material for his chapter on Dido in the *De claris mulieribus*, which work in its turn provides Hans Sachs with inspiration for his *Historia. Die Königin Dido*, published in 1557<sup>6</sup>.

However, the influence of Virgil’s and Ovid’s version is more extensive, more manifest and also older. From the thirteenth century, Ovid’s heroic letter, in more or less faithful translations or paraphrases, has been inserted in larger works such as the *Primera Cronica General*, composed around 1270 within the circle of Alphonse the Wise<sup>7</sup>, and the French *Ovide moralisé* of about 1300<sup>8</sup>. Ovid’s letter was also a model for new heroic letters such as the Italian letter of Dido to Iarbas, composed by Luca Pulci (died 1470)<sup>9</sup>. Still in the 17th century, Ovid’s

<sup>4</sup> *Magni Felicis Ennodii Opera omnia*, ed. Guil. Hartel, C.S.E.L. vol. VI (Vienna, 1882), pp. 505-506.

<sup>5</sup> Justinus, *Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi*, 18,4-6; cf. E. Semrau, *Dido in der deutschen Dichtung* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1930), p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Semrau (n. 5), pp. 11-15.

<sup>7</sup> E. Leube, *Fortuna in Karthago. Die Aeneas-Dido-Mythe Vergils in den romanischen Literaturen vom 14. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg, 1969), p. 234 sqq.; Dörrie (n. 3), p. 349.

<sup>8</sup> Leube (n. 7), p. 41 sqq.; Dörrie (n. 3), p. 348.

<sup>9</sup> Dörrie (n. 3), p. 142.

unrivalled editor Nicolaus Heinsius was tempted to reply to his heroine's letter by an *Aeneae epistola responsiva ad Ovidianam Dido*<sup>10</sup>.

The interest in Virgil's Dido story is of course part of the general appreciation of the Aeneid as such. Nevertheless, in the 16th century a particular interest in the most Didonian part of Virgil's epic, Aeneid IV, can be observed. Separate editions and translations of precisely this book are beginning to be published<sup>11</sup>. A separate edition together with an Italian translation was published in 1534 in Venice. Other Italian translations followed in 1548, 1568, 1569<sup>12</sup>. In 1544 the Louvain professor of Latin, Petrus Nannius, published a separate annotated edition<sup>13</sup>. In France, Joachim du Bellay produced a translation of both Aeneid IV and Ovid's Dido letter (1552)<sup>14</sup>. About the same period, England got its "Fourth Booke of Virgill, intreating of the Love betwene Aeneas and Dido"<sup>15</sup>.

It has already been said that Virgil's Dido carries tragic features which remind one of certain characters of the ancient tragedy. In the 16th century, such features contributed to the fact that Aeneid IV inspired another form of literary imitation, viz. the dramatising of the Dido story. Within this field of literary re-creation we have to do with adaptations in the vernacular as well as in Latin. The oldest specimens of these Dido tragedies are in the vernacular. In Italy we find such tragedies in the first half of the century, written by Alessandro Pazzi (1524), Giambattista Giraldi Cinthio (1543) and Lodovico Dolce (1547)<sup>16</sup>. A Spanish *Tragedia delos amores de Eneas y de la Reyna Dido*, attributed to Juan Cirne, has been dated 1536, but its successors began to appear only in the next century, in *Elisa Dido*, by Christobal de Viruès (1609) and in *La famosa comedia de Dido y Eneas*, by Guillèn de Castro (1625)<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Dörrie (n. 3), p. 110.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. C. L. Heesakkers, "Vergilius in de Nederlandse Gouden Eeuw, een overzicht", *Lampas* 15 (1982), 68-89.

<sup>12</sup> G. Mambelli, *Gli annali delle edizioni virgiliane* (Firenze, 1954), Nrs. 752, 764, 788, 789, 792.

<sup>13</sup> A. Polet, *Une gloire de l'humanisme belge. Petrus Nannius 1500-1557* (Louvain, 1936), pp. 134-139.

<sup>14</sup> Mambelli (n. 12), Nr. 1062; R. Turner, *Didon dans la Tragédie de la Renaissance Italienne et Française*, (Thèse) (Paris, 1926), pp. 97-98, 113-114.

<sup>15</sup> Mambelli (n. 12), Nr. 1386.

<sup>16</sup> Turner (n. 14), p. 12 sqq. (Pazzi), 51 sqq. (Dolce); Leube (n. 7), p. 172 sqq.; J. Friedrich, *Die Didodramen des Dolce, Jodelle und Marlowe in ihrem Verhältnis zu einander und zu Vergil's Aeneis* (Kempten, 1888).

<sup>17</sup> Leube (n. 7), p. 294 sqq. (Cirne), p. 312 sqq. (de Castro); Semrau, (n. 5), after p. 91, III. Spanien.

The first French tragedy on the Didonian theme seems to be *Didon se sacrifiant*, written by Etienne Jodelle (1560). Other authors of similar tragedies are Guillaume de la Grange (1582), Gabriel (or Guillaume?) le Breton (1587) and Alexandre Hardy (1603)<sup>18</sup>.

The oldest English play written on the subject of Dido is Christopher Marlowe's *Dido Queen of Carthage* (1594)<sup>19</sup>, but Dido performances of some kind or another had preceeded it: as early as 1527 the King assisted at such a performance at his palace at Greenwich. Similar performances are mentioned in 1563 at Chester and in 1564 at Cambridge, in the presence of Queen Elizabeth<sup>20</sup>.

In 1551 or 1552 the Antwerp rhetoricians presented an *Van Eneas en Dido*, written by Cornelis van Ghistele (or de Mol). The text was printed at Rotterdam in 1621, together with three other love plays, based on classical mythology or novellistic literature. In Germany it was Augsburg which saw a *Tragödie von Aenea, den Trojanern und Dido zu Carthago*, written by Hans Wüst and Georg Fischer, in 1590<sup>21</sup>.

In the Northern countries, England, The Netherlands and Germany, Latin Dido tragedies have also been produced<sup>22</sup>. England is represented by the prolific Neolatin playwright William Gager, whose *Dido* was acted in 1583<sup>23</sup>. The most extensive and detailed title of the first Latin Dido from German soil is characteristic of the moralistic aim of these plays: *Dido tragoedia, de fuga et hospitio Aeneae Troiani, apud Didonem Reginam Carthaginis: qua extraordinarii et errantes motus in vagis*

<sup>18</sup> Turner (n. 14), p. 85sq. (Jodelle), 122sq. (G. de la Grange), p. 7 (Le Breton); Leube (n. 7), p. 86, mentioning also Jacques de la Taille; see also H. Kindermann, *Theatergeschichte Europas. II. Das Theater der Renaissance* (Salzburg, 1959), p. 159; Friedrich (n. 16).

<sup>19</sup> L. L. Brodwin, *Elizabethan Love Tragedy 1587-1625* (New York-London, 1971), pp. 185-191; Friedrich (n. 16).

<sup>20</sup> W. Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas, II, 1, Renaissance und Reformation* (Halle, 1918<sup>2</sup>), p. 79 (Greenwich); II, 2, p. 494 (Cambridge, 1564); G. Wickham, *Early English Stages 1300 to 1660*, II, 1 (London, 1963), p. 175 (Chester 1563).

<sup>21</sup> W. M. H. Hummelen, *Repertorium van het Rederijkersdrama 1500-ca. 1600* (Assen, 1968), pp. 34-35; J. B. Houwert, *Den handel der Amoureuusheyt. Inhoudende vier poetische spelen* (Rotterdam 1621) (Cornelis van Ghistele); Semrau (n. 5), p. 15 (Wüst-Fischer).

<sup>22</sup> Creizenach (n. 20), II, 1, p. 352, mentions an unpublished Latin Dido, by the Italian Petrus Angelius Bargaesus (1518-1596). The Danish Schoolrector Jacob Wolf published a Latin Dido in 1591 (Kindermann [n. 18], p. 361).

<sup>23</sup> J. W. Binns, "William Gager's *Dido*", *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 20 (1971), pp. 167-254, and in *Renaissance Latin Drama in England. First Series, 1. William Gager, Oedipus (acted 1577-1592), Dido (acted 1583). Prepared with an Introduction by J. W. Binns* (Hildesheim-New York, 1981).

*illicitisque amoribus, qui vix unquam bonos exitus sortiuntur, descripti sunt: In usum studiosae pubis ex Vergilii secundo, primo et quarto Aeneid. libro, Paraphrastice tractata Historia, et in Tragicae actionis formam, in Danis, Prussia et Saxonia, ubi Autor certis negociis praefuit, animi gratia conscripta, Per Henricum Knaustium*, from 1566<sup>24</sup>. This long title is not unfitting considering the length of the play and the number of the cast, counting no less than 37 dramatis personae. A second and more moderate playwright to be mentioned here is Nicodemus Frischlinus, author of the *Dido Tragoedia nova, ex quarto libro Virgilianae Aeneidos* (1581). Frischlin used the first book of the Aeneid for another Latin play, the *Venus Tragoedia nova* (1584).

Frischlin's *Dido* enjoyed a certain popularity and was twice translated into German<sup>25</sup>. In Strassburg, where a lively acting tradition apparently existed in the 1580s, the *Dido tragoedia nova ex libris IV prioribus Virgilianae Aeneidos* of Michael Hospeinius was produced in 1591<sup>26</sup>.

A particular interest in the epic of Virgil must have existed in the only university town of the Netherlands, Louvain. We have already seen, that Nannius had occupied himself with Aeneid IV and his older colleague Adrianus Barlandus shows a similar preference for it. In 1519 he published a commentary on the first four books of the Aeneid. Four years earlier, we hear of a *Dido Tragoedia*. Barlandus' biographer, E. Daxhelet, concluded that it was an original dramatization of the Dido story, but, as Jozef IJsewijn has pointed out, the preserved *Prologus* proves that we have to do with a mere declamation of the Vergilian text itself<sup>27</sup>. It is once again in Louvain that, in 1550, the performance took place of a *Dido*, of which the text has been preserved and which, therefore, is the oldest existing Latin *Dido* dramatization. The author is Petrus Ligneus Gravelinganus or Pieter van de Houte from Grevelingen (on the Flemish coast), and the play is entitled *Dido Tragoedia nova ex quatuor prioribus (potissimum primo et quarto) libris Aeneidos Vergilii desumpta*. After his study the author settled in Antwerp as a lawyer and

<sup>24</sup> Semrau (n. 5), p. 28-31.

<sup>25</sup> Semrau (n. 5), p. 31-33; the translations date from 1659 and 1771.

<sup>26</sup> Semrau (n. 5), p. 33-35; Kindermann (n. 18), p. 319.

<sup>27</sup> E. Daxhelet, *Adrien Barlandus, Humaniste belge 1486-1538* (Louvain, 1938), p. 213 (repeated by J. M. Valentin, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 21 (1972), 104); J. IJsewijn, "Theatrum Belgo-Latinum", *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 29 (1980), 310-311; id., "Annales theatri Belgo-Latini. Inventaris van het Latijns toneel uit de Nederlanden", in *Album G. Degroote* (Brussel, 1980), p. 44.

there he published his text, “Lovanii olim publice exhibita”, in 1559<sup>28</sup>. In this same year and in the same town, the second Dido tragedy by a Dutch Latinist was edited, the *Dido Tragoedia nova* by Aulus Gerardus Dalanthus Heusdanus (from Heusden in Brabant), dedicated to the young prince William of Orange<sup>29</sup>. The main difference between these two tragedies is their relationship to Virgil’s text. Ligneus remains very faithful to the original text and maintains the hexameter for the dialogues, whilst Dalanthus proves to have been largely influenced by Seneca. His Dido shows a great affinity with some of Seneca’s female personages, such as Phaedra or Medea.

There are two other Dido tragedies which are preserved in manuscript only and which may be considered to belong to the Netherlandish Neolatin tradition. They are to be found in the manuscript collection of the Leiden University Library. One of them was published by W. H. D. Suringar in 1880, entitled *Dido. Tragoedia ex segmentis priorum librorum Aeneidos composita ab auctore incerto*<sup>30</sup>. The editor assumed that the manuscript was an autograph to be dated as being probably from the middle of the 17th century. A former owner, M. Tydeman, had entitled it as *Dido: Tragoedia, Cento Virgilianus: sive Vergilius Tragicus*<sup>31</sup>. According to Suringar, this title did not do justice to the character of the tragedy, but the typography of his edition clearly demonstrates the extreme dependence of the playwright on his source: Suringar had all the parts of the text which were not borrowed exactly from the Vergilian epic printed in italics. Now, from the 1003 verses of the play, only 150 are completely or partly printed in italics. This number must be diminished by the last eight lines, which do not properly belong to the play, but are a kind of epilogue recited to the public by the Grex (the cast?)<sup>32</sup>. These

<sup>28</sup> Semrau (n. 5), pp. 20-24. Grevelingen is now Gravelines in Northern France.

<sup>29</sup> Semrau (n. 5), pp. 24-28.

<sup>30</sup> Leiden University Library, MS. BPL 739; *Dido. Tragoedia ex segmentis priorum librorum Aeneidos composita ab auctore incerto cuius autographum possidet Bibliotheca Leidensis*, ed. W. H. D. Suringar (Leiden, 1880); Semrau, (n. 5), p. 35.

<sup>31</sup> Suringar (n. 30), p. XI.

<sup>32</sup> Suringar (n. 30), p. 40:

Sic Dido ultra suos animo flagrante furores  
 Languenti voluit fines imponere vitae.  
 Vos, queis huic tenero placet indulgere labori,  
 o Patrumque urbisque decus, nostraeque Camoenae  
 Laeta favens, spectata manus, decorisque Latini  
 Adnixa et nunquam defessa columnina, Patres,  
 Crescentis nostrae Musae docilisque iuventae  
 Annuite his nostris, animis propioribus ausis.



lines suggest a performance, probably by the pupils of the local school, in the presence of the town magistrates. The rector of the school may have compiled the play which is composed exclusively of hexameters. I suppose that the play could give us an idea of the form of the *Maroniana Dido* by Barlandus, mentioned above.

## II

The other Latin Dido preserved in manuscript bears the name of Petrus Cunaeus as author. Petrus Cunaeus<sup>33</sup> was born in Vlissingen in Zeeland in 1586. He matriculated on 23 May 1601 at Leiden University as a student of Arts. In 1603 he stayed in England for some months, studying Homer and the other Greek poets. On 23 August 1606 he matriculated in Franeker as a student of Theology and on 30 November 1607 in Leiden, again as a theologian<sup>34</sup>. He also occupied himself with Law and even more, according to his autobiographical note in Meursius' *Athenae Batavae*, with the *bonae litterae*<sup>35</sup>. On 12 October 1610, whilst still a student, he was allowed to read on the Latin poets, and on 8 February 1612 he was appointed Professor *linguae Latinae*. If required to do so, he was also to teach Greek<sup>36</sup>. Although the publication in this same year of his Menippean Satire *Sardi venales* caused him a lot of trouble with the students<sup>37</sup>, he became a Professor *ordinarius* in August

<sup>33</sup> Ad. Vorstius, *Oratio funebris recitata in exsequiis viri incomparabilis D. Petri Cunaei Iuris & Politices Professoris primarii, Ad diem VI. Decemb. MDCXXXIIX* (Leiden, 1638), reprinted in the later editions of the *Orationes*, e.g. Leipzig 1693.

<sup>34</sup> Matriculations in Leiden: *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae MDLXXV-MDCCCLXXV* (The Hague, 1875), p. 61, 23 May 1601: "Petrus Cunaeus Vlissingensis. 15, L."; p. 89, 30 November 1607: "Petrus Cunaeus Vlissingensis. 23, T."; matriculation in Franeker: *Album Studiosorum Academiae Franekerensis (1585-1811, 1816-1844)*, I. *Naamlijst der studenten*, ed. S. J. Fockema Andreae and Th. J. Meijer (Franeker, 1968), p. 38: "Petrus Cunaeus, Vlissingensis, theol".

<sup>35</sup> J. Meursius, *Athenae Batavae, sive De Urbe Leidensi, & Academia, Virisque claris, qui utramque ingenio suo, atque scriptis illustrarunt, libri duo* (Leiden, 1625), p. 286: "Leidam reversus, per diversas disciplinas se circumegit, & modo ad Theologiam, modo ad Jurisprudentiam, plurimum vero ad humaniores literas, animum applicuit"; as Meursius states in his letter to the Reader, the biographies of living persons are made by themselves: "e vivis suam quisque vitam tradit".

<sup>36</sup> P. C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche universiteit*, II ('s-Gravenhage, 1916), p. 3: "D. Petro Cunaeo quamdiu Latinos interpretatur poetas, 10a hora antemeridiana ad docendum a Mag.<sup>co</sup> Rectore et Senatu est concessa"; p. 41: "C. en B. benoemen Petrus Cunaeus, die eenigen tijd 'opentlyck Horatium hadde gelesen ende geexpliceert' tot prof. Linguae Latinae, met verplichting tevens Grieksch te doceren, indien C. en B. dit verlangen, op f. 350".

<sup>37</sup> *Two Neo-Latin Menippean Satires. Justus Lipsius: Somnium. Petrus Cunaeus: Sardi venales*, edd. C. Matheeußen and C. L. Heesakkers (Leiden, 1980), pp. 15-17.

of the following year<sup>38</sup>. In February 1614 he was appointed Professor Politices, with the obligation however to teach also in Literis et Historiis<sup>39</sup>. On 19 June 1615 he graduated in Iure and in November following he became Professor Iuris, which he was to remain throughout his future life<sup>40</sup>. That Cunaeus continued to be devoted to the bonae litterae, may be suggested by the fact that the Boards of the University charged him with the foundation of a Collegium oratorium privato-publicum in August 1620<sup>41</sup>. No wonder that the best known works written by Cunaeus are to be found in the field of Neolatin literature. Apart from his *Sardi venales*, his seventeen *Orationes* have enjoyed a long lasting interest.

Although Cunaeus' interest in Greek poetry is mentioned and although he gave instruction on Latin poetry to his students, there are no indications that he had real ambitions to become a Neolatin poet himself<sup>42</sup>. What is more important and more striking, there isn't any hint of his writing tragedies in Vorstius' *Oratio funebris*, in Cunaeus' printed *Epistolae*, or in the biographical notes in the current biographies, in as far as I have consulted them. This suggests that the Dido tragedy was a neglected, forgotten and unknown achievement of Cunaeus. It also implies that the evidence for the authorship of the tragedy and for its date relies exclusively on the manuscript.

The manuscript bears the shelf-mark "Cun. 7" since it belongs to the collection of Cunaeus' papers that, more than hundred years after his death, in 1749 entered the Leiden Library as a "donum haeredum

<sup>38</sup> Molhuysen (n. 36), p. 49, 3 August 1613: "Zij benoemen Joh. Lindershausen en Petrus Cunaeus tot proff. ordinarii".

<sup>39</sup> Molhuysen (n. 36), p. 51: "zij benoemen Cunaeus tot opvolger van Heinsius als prof. Politices, mits blijvende behouden zijn lessen in Literis en Historiis".

<sup>40</sup> Molhuysen, (n. 36), p. 56: "Visum est D. Petro Cunaeo conferendum esse supremum in Iure gradum, quem illi contulit D. Cornelius Swanenburgius, Magnif. Rector"; p. 63: "C. en B. benoemen P. Cunaeus tot prof in de Rechten om naast de 'professio Politices' 't zij ex Digestis 't zij ex Codice te lezen".

<sup>41</sup> Molhuysen, (n. 36), p. 95: "Zij stellen op verzoek der studenten, die zich in de welsprekendheid willen oefenen, een collegium oratorium privato-publicum in, onder leiding van Cunaeus, en bepalen dat de oprichting 'publico programme' zal bekend gemaakt worden, en dat Cunaeus het college met een 'publycque declamatie' zal openen"; this public declamation has been inserted among the orations as "Oratio V. sive Excercitationum Oratoriæ, quæ auctoritate publica in Academia Leidensi institutæ sunt, Inauguratio. Habita X. Novemb. MDCXX" (*Orationes*, ed. 1693, p. 82-115).

<sup>42</sup> Editing the *Orationes*, Chr. Cellarius inserted some of Cunaeus' Latin liminary poems (*Orationes*, ed. 1693, p. 272, 273-274, 328-329).

Cunaei”<sup>43</sup>. The actual binding of Cun. 7 and the title on the parchment spine, “P. Cunaei Dido”, may date from the second half of the 18th century. The title-page, part of the original manuscript, carries the text “Tragoedia Dido P. Cunaei”, but the ink of the last part of this title, “P. Cunaei”, strongly suggests that this name has been added afterwards. Consultation of other manuscripts of the Cunaeus collection showed similar extensions of the titles of some autograph copies of his orations<sup>44</sup>. Most of these orations were not published during Cunaeus’ lifetime. Some of these autographs have short titles, to which at some later moment, a number has been added (“Oratio IV”, etc.) and, after the title itself, the date and the occasion (“habita d. 8 Febr. MDCXXVIII cum rectoratum deponeret”, etc.). These additions were, in all probability, made with a view to the edition of published and unpublished orations Cunaeus had in mind<sup>45</sup>, and which his son Johannes was to bring to realization after his father’s death. It appeared in 1641<sup>46</sup>. This edition indeed contains the titles with the additions mentioned, in some cases slightly changed.

All but one of the funeral orations of the 1641 edition had been printed previously as separate booklets<sup>47</sup>. Cunaeus’ oldest funeral oration, held at the death of his former teacher Bonaventura Vulcanius (1614), had not been published separately, nor included in the posthumous edition of 1641. Cunaeus had probably not dared to publish it, because it had

<sup>43</sup> Iacobus Geel, *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum qui inde ab anno 1741 Bibliothecae Lugduno Batavae accesserunt* (Leiden 1852), Preface to the reader: “manuscripta P. Cunaei 14, donum haeredum eius, anno 1749”; p. 189, Nr. 641: “Cun. 7. Volumen 22 foliorum in Quarto. P. Cunaei autographa Tragoedia Dido. Constat 900 versibus cum Choro. Personae: Dido, Anna, Iuno, Venus, Iarbas, Iupiter, Mercurius, Aeneas, Sichaei umbra, Satellites. E legato Cunaeorum”.

<sup>44</sup> Leiden University Library, MS. Cun. 8; Geel, (n. 43), p. 246, Nr. 895; all but one of these autographs have been published in the *Orationes*, numbered I, II, III, VIII, IX, X, XVII.

<sup>45</sup> According to the autobiography (Meursius, [n. 35], p. 289), Cunaeus’ intention to publish a collection of orations goes back to at least 1625: “Ex orationibus, quas publice recitavit, quaedam editae sunt, caeterae uno volumine prodibunt, cum aliis opusculis literariis”.

<sup>46</sup> *Viri Cl. Petri Cunaei J.C. Orationes Varii argumenti. Accedit Praeter alias eiusdem Dissertationes Consilium in causa Postliminii*, (Leiden 1641); the dedication is by his son Jo. Cunaeus, dated 1 August 1640.

<sup>47</sup> The *Orationes* XIII, XIV, XV, on Ael. Ev. Vorstius, Bronchorst and Swanenburgh, had appeared in Leiden in 1625, 1627 and 1630 resp. Of Oratio XVI, on Burgersdijk, I know of no former edition, nor did I find the autograph.

caused some scandal<sup>48</sup>. His son may have decided to leave it in oblivion for the same reason. In 1725, P. Burmannus included it in his edition of Cunaeus' *Epistolae*, with the title "P. Cunaei J.U.D. et Prof. Oratio In obitum B. Vulcanii Habita Lugd. Batav. in Academia MDCXXV. Nunc primum edita". The autograph copy of the oration has a short title on its first page ("Oratio in obitum Bonaventurae Vulcanij, Linguae Graecae Professoris", as in Burmannus' edition, p. 401), but its cover has the title as adopted by Burmannus, be it with the correct year (Burman misunderstood the ligature for "XIV") and with an adapted ending (the manuscript has "inedita adhuc"). But here again, the beginning and the end of the complete title obviously have been added to the original short title ("Oratio in obitum B. Vulcanij") at a later date. Now the way in which the author's name, "P. Cunaei", is written, seems perfectly identical with that we find in the title of the Dido tragedy, be it, that it here precedes the title. I suppose that the handwriting of the additions in the titles of the tragedy, the oration on Vulcanius and the other orations belongs to one person, but I find it not especially similar to that of Cunaeus or of his son, as far as I can see from their autographs. If indeed it isn't theirs, then it must be that of some one else who was familiar with Cunaeus' papers and works and who may have been involved with the collected edition of the orations as well as the planned separate edition (with own title page) of the Vulcanius oration (and of the tragedy?). We

<sup>48</sup> Molhuysen (n. 36), p. 72\*-74\*; *Petri Cunaei, Eloquentiae & Iuris Romani quondam in Academia Batava Professoris, & Doctorum Virorum ad eundem Epistolae. Quibus accedit Oratio In obitum Bonaventurae Vulcanii. Nunc primum editae*, ed. P. Burmannus (Leiden, 1725), p. 93, 111-112, 123-131; Cunaeus had omitted to give his oration the usual edifying tone of Christian piety, since he had known Vulcanius too well to suppose much Christian piety in his hero: "Etiam illud culpavere, quod de Christi meritis locutus non sum. Sed multae caussae fuere, cur haec & alia multa omiserim. Novimus nos, novere caeteri Vulcanium, qui familiariter cum illo vixerunt, Sane quoties aliquis hominem extrema senectute ad mortis meditationem hortaretur, vehementer irascebatur ille. Sermones vero de Christo aut de pietate, adeo nunquam ex sene audivimus, ut saepe mirati simus, quibus ille cogitationibus fessam aetatem solatus fuerit" (*Epistolae*, p. 93). The Senate had begged the young Cunaeus to deliver an oration since no one else was prepared to do so: "neque quisquam repertus est, qui homini, optime de Academia merito, extremum pietatis officium praestaret, donec tandem ego precibus Senatus Academici permotus sum, ut id facerem, quod esset ex dignitate publica" (ib. p. 111). Cunaeus had lived with Vulcanius for three years ("Cum Bonaventura Vulcanio per triennium eadem mensa vixit", Meursius, [n. 35], p. 287). Cunaeus had first decided to publish his oration, but then changed his mind: "Ea cum haud ingrata fore omnibus bonis viderem, constitueram hoc, quidquid est, vulgare. Nunc, cum intellexi quaedam ab ineptis reprehendi, omittam illud consilium, & tenebris damnabo scriptum".

must assume, therefore, that the person who added Cunaeus' name to the title of our tragedy, whoever he was, knew what he was doing.

Geel and Suringar were convinced that Cunaeus was not only the author of the tragedy, but also the scribe of the manuscript<sup>49</sup>. The handwriting of the text of Cun. 7 certainly differs from that of the orations. This may partly be explained by the fact that Cun. 7 seems to be a neat, final copy. Moreover, Cun. 7 seems to differ more from the later orations than from the earlier Vulcanius oration, as far as the handwriting is concerned. This would imply that the tragedy must have been a juvenile work. If that is true, then it would also make it better understandable that the tragedy is nowhere mentioned in Cunaeus' correspondence and that its existence is unknown to the author of Cunaeus' funeral oration.

Notwithstanding some uneasy feelings about the identification of the handwriting of both title and text of Cun. 7 and about the absence of any mention of the tragedy in the biographical sources, I am inclined to assume, after all, that Petrus Cunaeus was the author of the *Tragoedia Dido* and the scribe of the manuscript Cun. 7.

The manuscript on paper<sup>50</sup> is in 4° (210 × 163 mm.), counting, in a contemporary pagination, 44 pages. The title page and its verso-side, containing the "Personae", are not numbered. All pages have a marginal line on the left side. The first letter of every page and of every new scene is written before this line, as well as some corrections and one addition (p. 36). Four lines on p. 32 and two on p. 34 are preceded by quotation marks.

According to a note, inserted into the manuscript, Suringar consulted the tragedy in 1868, and apparently gave his opinion on the authorship: "(Suringar) quo iudice hoc est ipsius poetae autographon atqui P. Cunaei, vide quae ipse poeta emendavit pag. 15, 21, 29, 33, 36. Videtur eidem Cunaeus ante oculos habuisse Nicodemi Frischlini Opera scenica, Argent. 1592, qui idem argumentum tractavit modo simillimo". When Suringar mentioned the tragedy in 1880, he merely repeated what Geel had written in his Catalogue of 1851, without further arguments, only changing the number of lines (875 instead of 900)<sup>51</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> Geel (n. 43); Suringar (n. 30), p. X.

<sup>50</sup> The watermark gives no clue as to a terminus ante quem. It belongs to the group of "Armoiries. Cross portée sur la poitrine d'une aigle", found by Briquet in the last decades of the 16th century in the regions between Basle and the Netherlands.

<sup>51</sup> Suringar (n. 30), p. X.

It is, however, quite natural that Suringar compared the tragedy with Frischlin's *Dido*, which comes near to it in size, personages and composition, nearer at least than the other *Dido* tragedies, but the similarity can just as well be explained from the common source, the fourth book of the *Aeneid*, which is closely followed in both tragedies. Besides, there are also differences. Among Frischlin's personages "Umbra Sichaei" and "Satellites" are missing. His *Dido* is divided into the usual five acts. Our *Dido* gives no indication of acts. Since there are only three choral interludes, an implicit division into five acts cannot be supposed either. The material for the fourth interlude of Frischlin's *Dido* is moulded in a dialogue in our tragedy (vv. 746-763, cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 560-579). Frischlin's scenes are more numerous too.

All in all, there is no reason to postulate a direct influence from Frischlin's *Dido*. There is still less reason to suppose influence of any other Renaissance *Dido* tragedy.

Moreover, the dependence of our tragedy on *Aeneid* IV, as far as the contents is regarded, is of such a kind, that there are no grounds to look for other sources, at least not for the dialogues. As may be deduced from the annotation, Vergil's text has been closely followed. The personages and the order of the events are those of the *Aeneid*. Only six passages of over twenty lines of the *Aeneid* have no counterpart in the tragedy (54-92, 129-206, 277-304, 388-415, 437-477, 499-533). "Adolescentibus exemplo erit ut inde discant quomodo ligata oratio in solutam aut aliud carminis genus convertenda sit", the playwright could have repeated after Knaustius<sup>52</sup>.

Notwithstanding the far reaching dependence on the Vergilian text, there is one other ancient author, to whom we must frequently refer in the annotation, viz. Seneca. This is not surprising since his enormous influence on Renaissance drama is well known. The choral interludes in particular contain formulas and sentences borrowed from Seneca's tragedies. A certain affinity in character between *Dido* and Seneca's *Phaedra* may be responsible for the numerous allusions to the latter's version of Euripides' famous *Hippolytus* story (quoted 'Sen., *Ph.*' in the annotation). Our playwright proves his acquaintance with the other Senecan tragedies as well by frequent allusions, dispersed throughout his play. He seems to be less dependent on his dramatic than on his epic model and handles it with more freedom. When he paraphrases Senecan

<sup>52</sup> Knaustius (above pp. 148-149), p. b2<sup>v</sup>.

passages of some extension, the borrowings from his source seem to be inserted with more ease into his own wording than those from the Aeneid in the dialogues. Senecan turns of phrase may even be found within the Vergilian paraphrases, as can be seen in the annotation on v. 2-8, 146-147, 168-169, 172-173, 449-450.

As for the metre of the choral interludes, Seneca also provided the examples. The first (v. 96-124) is in Asclepiadics, as Seneca, *Thy.* 122 sqq., or *Tro.* 371 sqq., the second (v. 234-277) in Sapphic stanzas, as Seneca, *Med.* 579 sqq., and the last (v. 527-546) in catalectic anapaestic dimeters, as Seneca, *Phaedra* 959 sqq.

A few references to other classical authors will be found in the annotation. In some cases we may have to do with more or less proverbial turns of phrase, which were part of the intellectual furniture of every Neolatin author and could unintentionally slip into the text, see e.g. v. 18 (Horace, *Carm.* III, 2.13). Only rarely the reader seems to be deliberately reminded of an existing classical phrase, see e.g. v. 279 (Horace, *Carm.* I, 13.4) or v. 316 (Suetonius, *Aug.* 30,2).

### III

#### The edition.

The clear handwriting of the Manuscript generally offers no specific problems nor does it make specific editorial demands. A number of corrections have been made by the scribe, but part of these seem to be corrections of mere slips of the pen, which have instantly been remedied. A few stylistic alterations may also have been made at the moment of the copying, since the handwriting of these mutations does not differ from that of the running text.

These instantly made corrections and changes may lead to the conclusion that we have to do with a clean, probably definite copy of a preceding rough text, but apart from this, they are not relevant to the tradition of the text. Therefore it seems not to be worth while to provide our edition with a separate apparatus criticus. So we have inserved these "critical" notes in the general annotation, but they are indicated by a distinguishing asterisk.

One alteration is important enough to pay attention to here. On page 36 of the Manuscript a marginal addition is to be found which obviously must be inserted after v. 687. Here too the handwriting is the same as that of the rest of the text, be it that every verse begins with a capital. However, this may simply be a consequence of the fact, that every verse needed two lines of the narrow margin: not every beginning of a line is the beginning of a new verse. It seems hard to decide whether the scribe simply added the ten verses he had forgotten to copy, or that he, being himself the author of the drama, enlarged his former text with a few new sentences inspired by the reading of his favourite author Seneca (see the

annotation). We have inserted the verses after v. 687, and numbered them 687 a, b, etc.

As far as possible the edition offers the text as it is preserved in the Manuscript. This holds even good for the spelling (u/v, e/j), the capitalization and the punctuation which generally offers no problems to the modern reader. A few usual abbreviations (for -que, -us, and the like) are completed. The original pagination has been added in the right margin. The numbering of the verses in the left margin has been added by the present editor.

#### The annotation.

Apart from the “critical” notes mentioned above, the annotation almost exclusively focuses on the use the playwright makes of his ancient sources. It is evident that Virgil’s *Aeneid* and, on a less extensive scale, Seneca’s dramas were direct sources for the contents and the phrasing of the play. By italic printing of the words or parts of words literally returning in the drama we hope to make it immediately clear to the reader how heavily the author leans upon these two sources. We preferred to use the italics in the annotation and not in the text, as has been done by Suringar in his edition of the *Anonymus Leidensis*, since that would do, in our opinion, an injustice to the play as a new, in a way original and independent piece of literature, in other words as a product of imitation in the Renaissance sense of the word. Italics in the text of the play would make it beforehand impossible to read it otherwise than as an ingeniously forged *Cento Vergilianus Annaeanusque*.

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TRAGOEDIA (1a)  
DIDO  
P. Cunaei

	Personae (1b)
DIDO	IVPITER
ANNA	MERCVRIVS
IVNO	AENAEAS
VENVS	VMBRA SICHAEI
IARBAS	SATELLITES
	CHORVS

Dido. Anna.

1

H eu qui dolores, quaeque me miseram mala  
 quantaque curae vulnerant animum meum!  
 Veneris ab igne carpor, aetatem malis  
 lachrymisque cogit me exigere hospes inclytus.  
 non somnus altus, nec quies graues mihi  
 leuare curas sustinent, crescit dolor  
 aliturque venis vulnus insanabile  
 et ardet intus. Vnde coniunctissima  
 soror hic nouus magnusque nostris sedibus  
 10 successit hospes? quantaque maiestas viro!  
 virtute quanta praeditus! Diuis satum,

- 
- 2-20. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 1-2: At regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura / vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni. 5: nec placidam membris dat cura quietem. 9-15: Anna soror, quae me suspensam insomnia terrent! / quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes, / quem sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis! / credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum. / degeneres animos timor arguit. *heu!* quibus ille / iactatus fatis! quae bella exhausta canebat! / si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet.
- 3-4. Sen., *Ph.* 90-91: hostique nuptam degere aetatem in malis / lacrimisque cogis?
- 5-8. Sen., *Ph.* 100-102: non me quies nocturna, non altus sopor / solvere curis. alitur et crescit malum / et ardet intus.
- \*10. quantaque-viro: former reading ore quem se praedicat is deleted.
10. Sen., *Herc. O.* 1746: tanta maiestas viro; cf. Cic., *Lael.* 96: quanta (Scipioni fuit) in oratione maiestas.

- nec quippiam falsi auguror, existimo.  
 heu quanta passus! quamque iniquis actus est  
 miser ille fatis! ah gradiui  
 15 quoties subiuit aleam sui immemor  
 mortisque dirae, semper intrepidum caput  
 Dis offerendo patrijs, ut strenuum et  
 fortem decet, cui dulce pro patria est mori.  
 O si meo decretum id immutabile  
 20 non insideret animo, ut nulli viro  
 I n posterum me iungerem, castos meo  
 dies marito ut exigerem superstites  
 misere necato fratris impia manu  
 ut sacra Diuis obtulit, hinc taedium  
 25 connubij, fallacibusque amoribus  
 renuntiaui: forsitan hoc unicum  
 potui subire, Veneris instinctu, malum.  
 hic, anna, solus, fateor in me solus hic  
 ignem resuscitauit olim mortuum  
 30 dira mariti caede, mentem hic perpulit  
 duram, nec ullis antea flexam viris.  
 agnosco veteris, insolens desuetaque  
 amoribus, cupidinis vestigia.

2

- 
15. Cf. Sen., *Ep.* 117,20: subibo huius voti aleam, and *ThLL*, s.v. alea, 1522,27 sqq.  
 16. Sen., *Herc. O.* 928: *mortisque dirae expelle decretum horridum.*  
 16-17. Sen., *Med.* 435-436: leto fuit/caput offerendum.  
 17-18. Cf. Quint., *Inst.* XII, 3.5: in proeliis quidem strenuum et fortem.  
 18. Hor., *Carm.* III, 2.13: dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.  
 23-41. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 18-29: si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset, / huic uni forsitan potui succumbere culpae. / Anna, fatebor enim, miseri post fata Sychaei / coniugis et sparsos fraterna caede Penatis / solus hic inflexit sensus animumque labantem / impulit. adgnosco veteris vestigia flammae. / sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat / vel pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras, / pallentis umbras Erebi noctemque profundam, / ante, Pudor, quam te violato aut iura resolvo. / ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores / abstulit; ille habeat secum servetque sepulchro.  
 23. Cf. Sen., *Oed.* 935: aptat impiam capulo manum.  
 25. Cf. Tibull. I, 9.83: fallaci resolutus amore; Sen., *Ph.* 634: o fallax Amor.  
 32-33. Cf. Claud., *Gild.* 50-51: desuetaque priscis / artibus.

- sed me priusquam virginali segregem  
 35 verecundia, castaque vita, vel pudor  
 te deseram, me terra diram absorbeat,  
 armisque summus me premat pater suis  
 ad ultima Stygis claustra et umbras pallidas  
 noctis profundae, qui sibi primum meos  
 40 superauit ignes, ille solus hos sibi  
 H abeat sepulchro et seruet aeternum sibi  
 AN. Dilecta soror, semperne moerens exiges  
 temeram iuuentam? solane cara pignora  
 non noueris? nec Cypridis almae praemia  
 45 curabis? id cinerem aut animam demortui  
 imo sepultam Tartaro quicquam autumas  
 morarier? quamuis inexorabilis  
 cunctis fuisti, tuque quamuis liberum  
 caput maritali iugo subtraxeris:  
 50 quamuis Tyri tyrannus Iarbas impotens  
 amore, repulsam passus est, aliique quos

34-35. Cf. Cic., *Quinct.* 39: homo timidus virginali verecundia.

38-39. Cf. Sen., *Oed.* 401: Dum nos profundae claustra laxamus Stygis.

42-79. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 31-52: Anna refert: O luce magis *dilecta sorori*, / *solane* perpetua *maerens* carpere *iuuenta*, / nec dulcis natos Veneris *nec praemia noris*? / *id cinerem aut* Manis credis *curare sepultos*? / esto; aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti, / non *Libyae*, non ante *Tyro*; despectus *Iarbas* / ductoresque *alii*, quos Africa terra *triumphis* / *dives alit*; placitone etiam *pugnabis* amoris? / nec venit in mentem, *quorum consederis arvis*? / *hinc* *Gaetulae* urbes, genus insuperabile bello, / et *Numidae* infreni cingunt et *inhospita* Syrtis; / *hinc* *deserta siti regio* lateque furentes / *Barcae*. quid *bella Tyro* surgentia dicam / germanique *minas*? / dis equidem *auspicibus* reor et *Iunone* secunda / hunc cursum *Iliacas* vento tenuisse carinas. / *quam tu urbem, soror, hanc cernes, quae surgere regna / coniugio tali!* Teucrum comitantibus armis, / *Punica* se quantis attollet gloria rebus! / *tu modo* posce *deos* veniam, *sacrisque litatis* / indulge *hospitio causasque innecte morandi*, / *dum pelago desaevit hiems* et aquosus Orion.

47. morarier: for this archaic form, cf. Plaut., *Cas.* 553 and 603; cf. below, v. 161 copularier, v. 662 amarier, v. 756 turbarier, v. 829 spargier.

49. Cf. Ovid., *Trist.* V, 2,40: subtrahis effracto tu quoque colla iugo?

\*51. amore, repulsam: *changed from the former reading* repulsam, amore, *by deleting* amore, *and adding* amore *in the left margin*.

51. Cf. Ovid., *Met.* II, 97: nullam patiēre repulsam; 3, 289.

- libya ferox alit triumphis diuites  
 omnino spreti: tam placitis flammis potes  
 pugnare demens? si sapienter exigas  
 55 quorum occuparis arua, quorum finibus  
 consederis, hinc et hinc Tyrannis undique  
 inclusa saeuīs, syrtibusque inhospitis  
 tumidisque Getis et Numidis atrocibus  
 regione O detestabile! desertissima  
 60 siti horrida, fortissimorum pectorum  
 D omitrice: Barcaeisque protendentibus 4  
 sua bella moestaque funera quum latissime.  
 heu! quam feroci Marte Tyrus circumdabit  
 Carthaginem, infestusque Pygmalion tibi  
 65 quam dira minatur, carceris caeci luem,  
 variasque mali doloris artes, quas solet  
 auri fames excogitare: haec si satis  
 examines, veniam dabis periurio.  
 Ioue auspice et Iunone rates Aenaeadam  
 70 huc appulere. quam soror hanc urbem tuam  
 videbis? et quae regna tibi surgentia  
 connubio tanti viri? queis bellici  
 Poeni atque Troēs mutuis victorijs  
 late imperabunt? tu modo veniam Deos  
 75 rogabis, et sacris litatis hospitem  
 curabis, et varias ei causas morae  
 prudenter, amore suggerenti innectito:

- 
- \*59. O detestabile!: *the O looks like a Q: the former reading probably was a comma only.*  
 60-61. Cf. Verg., *Georg.* III, 44: domitrixque Epidauros equorum.  
 62. Cf. Ovid., *Fast.* VI, 660: cantabat moestis tibia funeribus.  
 63-66. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* I, 339 sqq.  
 65-67. Sen., *Tro.* 582-586: Propone flammas, vulnera et diras *mali* / doloris artes et famem et saevam sitim / *variasque* pestes undique, et ferrum inditum / visceribus istis, *carceris caeci luem*, / et quidquid audet victor iratus timens. solet (66) and fames (67) may also be an echo of Sen., *Tro.* 581 and 583; cf. below ad v. 85.  
 67. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* III, 57: auri sacra fames.  
 72. queis: the same archaic form below v. 205.

- dum pontus et aër turbidus et frigens hyems  
 aliaque dum desaeuiunt pericula,  
 80 classisque procellis acta dum reparabitur.
- DI. Recta admones, animoque nostro congrua 5  
 tuaque soror, si quid valeam, monita exequar.  
 sed nos priusquam caepta peragamus, Deum  
 cum religione sacra consulere decet.
- 85 plus posse pietas quam furor praeceps solet.  
 fortasse manes coniugis placabimus:  
 lectas Apollini bidentes, et patri  
 baccho liquores offeremus Creticos,  
 cererique legum conditrici non deerunt
- 90 sua dona: tibi sed omnium pulcherrima  
 soror Tonantis et uxor, hoc soli tibi  
 nomen relictum est, offeremus munera.  
 DI vel meas delete flammas protinus  
 vel quod magis gratum foret, heroicum
- 95 mulcete pectus, et cupito perfruar.

## Chorus

Quanta est pernicies? quantaque pestis est  
 humano generi, Cypridis impio

- 
78. Cf. Sen., *Herc. F.* 31: quidquid pontus aut aer tulit; *Q.N.* VII, 6.1: ex intemperie aeris turbidi; Lucan. X, 207: sub Iove temperies et numquam turbidus aer.
81. Cf. Ter., *Andr.* 953: Recte admones.
85. Sen., *Tro.* 581: necessitas *plus posse quam pietas solet*. For praeceps furor, cf. Sen., *Ph.* 824: quid sinat inausum feminae praeceps furor.
86. Cf. Sen., *Med.* 970-971: victima manes tuos / placamus ista.
- 87-89. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 57-58: mactant *lectas* de more *bidentis* / *legiferae Cereri*.
- 87-88. Cf. Sen., *Thy.* 687: sacer Bacchi liquor.
- 91-92. Sen., *Herc. F.* 1-2: *Soror Tonantis* (*hoc enim solum mihi / nomen relictum est*).  
 Cf. also Sen., *Agam.* 349: (Iuno) soror et coniunx.
- 96-124. As the individual notes will prove, this first choral interlude is obviously inspired by the first chorus song in Sen., *Ph.* 274 sqq. The metre is Asclepiadic, as in Sen., *Thy.* 122 sqq. and *Tro.* 371 sqq.
96. Cf. Plaut., *Capt.* 903: quanta pernis pestis veniet, quanta labes larido.

- parere imperio? quamque etiam trucidis  
 arcus, flammigenae, tela Cupidinis
- 100 C erto ritu penetrant pectora? nullibi  
 pax isti puero, nulli homini quoque  
 parcit: quos Oriens spectat et Occidens  
 phoebus terrigenas, quique etiam aspero  
 degunt sub borea, quos quoque feruidus
- 105 coeli cardo tegit, alitis improbi  
 nouerunt iaculum, pectora concitat  
 lasciua iuuenum turpibus ignibus,  
 et quod deterius crimine pessimo  
 sensu priuat eos et rationibus,
- 110 quaecunque ut faciant, iusta vel improba  
 ducant pro nihilo, dummodo amoribus  
 foedis dent operam. pectora virginum  
 flammis, o scelera! sollicitat nouis.  
 aetate inualidis, relligio quibus
- 115 et sola pietas, utpote proximis  
 morti, continue propositae sient  
 extinctas reuocat saepe libidines.  
 bellis intrepidus, atque periculis  
 suetos, imperium sceptraque regia
- 120 C ogit deserere, ipsamque potentiam  
 tot victis tumidam saepius impio  
 commutare iugo claraque dextera  
 enses quae tulerat telaque martia  
 lassa est faemineis saepe laboribus.
- 125 Verum potentem qui vocarier sese
- 98-100. Sen., *Ph.* 274-278: Diva non miti generata ponto, / quam vocat matrem  
 geminus *Cupido*, / impotens *flammis* simul et sagitiis, / iste lascivus  
 puer et renidens / *tela quam certo moderatur arcu*.
- 100-101. Sen., *Ph.* 283: *nulla pax isti puero*.
- 102-106. Paraphrase of Sen., *Ph.* 283-290.
- 106-124. Paraphrase of Sen., *Ph.* 290-293.
- 106-107. Sen., *Ph.* 290-291: *iuuenum feroces concitat flammis*.
- 112-113. Sen., *Ph.* 293: *virginum ignoto ferit igne pectus*.
114. Cf. Tac., *Hist.* I, 88.2: *primores senatus aetate invalidi*.
117. Sen., *Ph.* 292: *rursus extinctos revocat calores*.
- 125-131. Paraphrase of Sen., *Ph.* 300-316.
125. vocarier: cf. 47 morarier.

volet, ferocem fremet amoribus mentem  
 nec victa libidine colla turpi submittat  
 veneris iugo, quamvis enim ultimi getae  
 tibi seruiant, Arabesque diuites gazis,  
 130 foedos tamen fugare amores non posse  
 nullo modo quisquam potentiam dicet.

Iuno. Venus.

O quanta refertis spolia! quanta praemia!  
 quantasque laudes! o facinus memorabile!  
 foemina duorum ut victa Deum fallacijs  
 135 sit, quippiam si laudis aut decoris meret  
 nostram quod urbem timueris et moenia  
 carthaginis altae quod fuerint olim tibi  
 suspecta, non ignorat illud regia  
 C oeli dominatrix, sed quis erit tandem modus?  
 140 quorsumve tanto pergitis certamine?  
 quin sempiternam, quod quidem melius foret  
 nos pacem inimus? et stabili connubio  
 Didonis AEnaeaeque corpora iungimus  
 lectissima? quod viribus Venus omnibus  
 145 petiueras, nunc occupas: miserrima  
 nunc ardet amore Dido, penitus deuorat  
 tectas medullas ignis, atque labitur  
 per ossa furor, venasque adurit intimas.

8

127-128. Cf. Sen., *Med.* 1023-1024: colla serpentes iugo / submissa; *Ph.* 576: Veneris iugum; *Oct.* 249: turpi iugo.

132-152. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 93-104: egregiam vero laudem et spolia ampla refertis / tuque puerque tuus; magnum et memorabile numen, / una dolo divum si femina victa duorum est. / nec me adeo fallit veritam te moenia nostra / suspectas habuisse domos Karthaginis altae. / sed quis erit modus, aut quo nunc certamine tanto? / quin potius pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos / exercemus? habes, tota quod mente petisti: / ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem. / communem hunc ergo populum paribusque regamus / auspiciis; liceat Phrygio servire marito / dotalisque tuae Tyrios permittere dextrae.

142. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 126: connubio iungam stabili; and below v. 186.

145-146. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV 117: unaque miserrima Dido.

146-147. Sen., *Ph.* 282: sed vorat tectas penitus medullas.

147-148. Sen., *Ph.* 279: labitur totas furor in medullas; cf. *Ph.* 642.

150       quin paribus hunc populum regamus Troicum  
           lybicumque sceptris? eia Dido seruiat  
           phrygio marito, conferat dotes suas  
           fidei potestatique tuae, quin annuis?

VE. Quis talia demens abnuat? aut tecum velit  
           certare bello? si modo quae iam refers  
 155       simulata non sunt, sique fausta sequitur  
           fortuna factum; sed voluntatis Iouis  
           incerta sum, dubitoque num consentiant  
           his fata rebus: si pater Deum velit

I n una habitare sede Poenos et Phryges  
 160       illosue misceri probet aut foedere  
           copularier stabilissimo. tu quae Iouis  
           es uxor in cuius sinum abstrusissima  
           arcana fundit, animum tenta Dei  
           precibusque quaere, fata quid fieri velint.  
 165 IU. Curabitur, pectusque sollicitet meum  
           labor iste, nunc quibus fieri rationibus  
           possit quod instat, si placet, docebitur.  
           Cras, nocte pulsa, laeta cum fulget dies  
           et nube clarum squallida exoritur iubar

9

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153-164. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 107-113: *quis talia demens / abnuat aut tecum malit contendere bello, / si modo, quod memoras, factum fortuna sequatur? / sed fati incerta feror, si Iuppiter unam / esse velit Tyriis urbem Troiaque profectis / miscerive probet populos aut foedera iungi. / tu coniunx; tibi fas animum temptare precando.*

161. copularier: cf. 47 morarier.

166-190. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 115-126: *mecum erit iste labor. nunc qua ratione quod instat / confieri possit, paucis, adverte, docebo. / venatum Aeneas unaque miserrima Dido / in nemus ire parant, ubi primos crastinus ortus / extulerit Titan radiisque retexerit orbem. / his ego nigrantem commixta grandine nimbum, / dum trepidant alae saltusque indagine cingunt, / desuper infundam et tonitru caelum omne ciebo. / diffugient comites et nocte tegentur opaca; / speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem / devenient. adero et, tua si mihi certa voluntas, / conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo;*

168-169. Sen., *Oed.* 1-2: *Iam nocte Titan dubius expulsa redit / et nube maestus squallida exoritur iubar.*

Cf. also Verg., *Aen.* IV, 139: *it portis iubare exorto delecta iuventus.*



- 170 Elisa et AEneas Phrygum pulcherrimus  
in nemus pergunt, in quibus, miserrimis  
versatur accolis metus frendens aper,  
iam vulnere multo notus, hunc dum diligens  
sequitur virorum cura, nimbum aterrimum  
175 densissimamque mittere creui grandinem  
ventisque, fulgure, ac tremendo murmure  
coelum ciebo, ipsumque quatiā nemus,  
mox hos relinquent ceteri ac nimio metu  
D um nocte opaca dumque saeua grandine 10  
180 tegantur, omnes diffugient, mox Troicus  
Tyriaque vastam atque arboribus absconditam  
speluncam inibunt, ipsaque praesens ero  
tuaque si liceat mihi confidere  
Venus voluntati, tuo mox filio  
185 propriam dicabo foeminam pulcherrimam,  
stabilissimoque iungam eos connubio.  
his nuptias celebrare nos rationibus  
oportet, haec sola est via, qua corpora  
quae mutuis misere necantur ignibus  
190 dolis tuis prauisque decepta artibus,  
iungantur, eequid haec placent gnydiae Deae?  
VE. Adblandiendum est et voluntati Deae  
assentiendum, quis furor aut dementia  
prohiberet ut tam callida atque commoda  
195 mihi meoque filio non approbem  
inuenta? quin imo meis quod viribus

172-173. Sen., *Ph.* 29-30: hic *versatur, metus agricolis, / vulnere multo iam notus aper.*

Cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 159: optat *aprum*; Ovid., *ars* I, 45: qua *frendens* valle moretur *aper*.

174-180. Cf. Sil., *Pun.* XII, 610-613: et ventos simul et nubes et grandinis iras / fulminaque et tonitrus et nimbos conciet atros. / concussi tremuere poli, caelumque tenebris / clauditur, et terras caeco nox condit amictu.

175. Cf. Verg., *Georg.* IV, 80: non densior aere grando.

\*176. fulgure: *former reading* fulgure, vel: vel *has been deleted*.

176. Cf. Iuven. V, 78: saeva cum grandine.

190. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 128: *dolis* risit Cytherea repertis.

192-197. Venus' answer in the oratio recta paraphrases Virgil's sober information (*Aen.* IV, 127-128): non adversata petenti / annuit.

potero huic rei intendam lubens. I. nunc strenue  
partes tuas tuere Venus ne quippiam  
D esit. VE. mihi nil defuturum spondeo.

11

Dido.

- 200 A maena lux, miserrimis gratissima  
mortalibus, o quam tenebris horridis  
praestantior es? quantumque lux solatium  
adfers amore percitis? dum noxijs  
grauibusque miseros leuas phantasmatis,  
205 queis nocte opaca dum quiescunt ceteri,  
curisque soluti iacent, amantium  
mentes premuntur, nil mihi conceditur  
noctu quietis, si quidem tum Troici  
vultu carendum est: sique, quod raro accidit,  
210 corpus quiescat, horridis insomnijs  
afflicta vexor. Tetrica me territant  
simulachra noctis, nil nisi infaustum mihi  
ob oculos ponentia, frigido metu  
quae dum recordor horreo, verum quia  
215 dies refulsit sollicitis animum iuuat  
leuare curis, pergite vos et ardua  
plagisque retibusque cingite nemora,  
F eraeque quo lateant loco celeres vaga  
lustrate planta, et illa maxime loca

12

197. I.: for IU., as in 165, i.e. Iuno.

200-201. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* XI, 182-183: Aurora interea miseris mortalibus almam extulerat lucem; Hor., *Serm.* I, 5.39: postera lux oritur gratissima; (Sen.), *Oct.* 20: lux es tenebris invisa magis.

205. queis: cf. above v. 72; nocte opaca: cf. above v. 179.

205-208. Cf. Sen., *Ph.* 100-101: non me *quies nocturna*, non altus sopor / *solvere curis*.

210-211. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 9: me suspensam insomnia terrent; Sen., *Tro.* 440: ignota tandem venit afflictae quies, with its context.

212-213. Cf. Cic., *Tim.* 37: nullo posito ob oculos simulacro.

213. Cf. Sen., *Ph.* 1053: *frigido exsanguis metu*.

215. Cf. (Sen.), *Oct.* 693-694: et votis *dies nostris refulsit*.

215-216. Cf. Sen., *Thy.* 922: iam sollicitas ponite curas.

216. vos: the company of huntsmen.

- 220 immunia quae diu vacant quorum incolas  
fortes leones atque frendentes apros  
timidosque ceruos quispiam raro petit  
capitue, mox circumdate vastis funibus  
canibusque habenas mittite venaticis  
225 laxas et amplas, ceteris instructa sit  
peditum cohors, equitumque quos venatui  
seruamus. In primis tuis o Delia  
subnixa vener gratijs, nec non tuo  
fauore Venus istum ferum atque immobilem  
230 tandem mihi deuinciam atque amoribus  
arcte obligem, tuque optima Iuno ne meis  
amoribus obsta. Sed mei clamoribus  
siluas cient Tyrijque me manent viri.

## Chorus

- 235 O Decor praeceps fragilisque splendor  
forma quem donat capiti venusto,  
tempore ut paruo celerique gressu  
Labere furtim?  
N ulla maiestas tibi nil vel ulli

13

- 216-220. Sen., *Ph.* 1-4: *Ite, umbrosas cingite silvas / summaque montis iuga, Cecropii. / celeri planta lustrate vagi / quae saxosae loca.*  
Sen., *Ph.* 25: *pars illa diu vacat immunis.*
- 221-222. Cf. Sen., *Ph.* 59-61: *tua Gaetulos / dextra leones, tua Cretaeas / sequitur cervas.*  
See also above v. 172-173, and Sen. *Ph.* 342: *poscunt timidi praelia cervi.*
- \*224. *mittite: the MS has erroneously mittitite.*
224. Sen., *Ph.* 31-32: *At vos laxas canibus tacitis / mittite habenas.*  
Cf. also Plaut., *Mil.* 268: *quasi canis venaticus.*
227. Delia: like 'diva virago' in Sen., *Ph.* 54, for Diana, the hunting goddess.
- 234-277. The second choral interlude is in Sapphic stanzas, as in Sen., *Med.* 579 sqq.; cf. also the choral interlude in Sen., *Ph.* 736 sqq., the contents of which is certainly used by our playwright, as the notes clearly prove.
- 234-237. Sen., *Ph.* 761-763: *Anceps forma bonum mortalibus, / exigui donum breve temporis, / ut velox celeri pede laberis.*



- V rbe quae tota similis procellae  
 fertur aut ceruae similis fugaci  
 quam ferox pastor celeri sagitta  
 Conijcit arcu.
- 270 S ic et AEnaeam Phrygium per urbem  
 diuagans ducit fatua, hospitemque  
 ipsa fatalem trahit huc et illuc  
 More furentis.
- V os o felices animi et beati  
 275 sola quis virtus pietasque curae est  
 quique formarum illecebras soletis  
 Spernere vanas.

Iarbas

15

- A ccensus ira, flammeum pectus gero  
 feruensque difficili bile tumet iecur  
 280 nihilque tam regale pectus concitat  
 nulloque maiestas mea facinore  
 plus laesa fuit, quam contumacis faeminae  
 agrisque ditatae meis, audacia.  
 nostris quod oris exuli atque patrijs  
 285 bonis carenti nupserit, et toro suo,

- 
266. Cf. Sen., *Ph.* 736: Fugit insanae *similis procellae*.  
 267-269. Cf. Hor., *Carm.* IV, 6.33-34: Deliae tutela deae, fugacis / lyncae et cervos cohibentis arcu.  
 271-273. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* XI, 232: fatalem Aenean; Sen., *Med.* 694: huc ille vasti more torrentis iacens.  
 274. Cf. Iuven. XIV, 119: animi felices.  
 275-276. Cf. Sen., *Herc. F.* 1092-1094: pelle insanos / fluctus animi, redeat pietas / virtusque viro.  
 Cf. also Sen., *Epist.* 88,23: (artes) liberae, quibus curae virtus est.  
 278. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 197: incenditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras; 203: et rumore *accensus* amaro.  
 \*279. *difficili: former reading calida deleted; tumet: corrected from the former reading tumescit.*  
 279. Hor., *Carm.* I, 13,4: fervens difficili bile tumet iecur.  
 282-283. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 211-213: femina, quae nostris errans in finibus urbem / exiguum pretio posuit, cui litus arandum / cuique loci leges dedimus.  
 284-285. Cf. Sen., *Herc. F.* 269-270: tremitis ignavum exulem, / suis carentem finibus, nostris gravem.

- a me petita non semel, dignata sit  
 non patiar, omne quod potest belli furor  
 tentabo prius, et diuitem Carthaginem  
 flamma atque ferro destruam, quin Troicum  
 290 deuenerat unde, et a quibus discesserat  
 oris remittam. Cernis haec Dium pater  
 cui Maura gens pictis epulata nunc toris  
 bacchi liquores consecrat? an te Pater  
 cum fulmina torques, cumque coelum murmure  
 295 vasto moues nihil timemus? atque vani in nubibus  
 terrent animos mortalium ignes? faemina  
 in finibus errans meis vaferrima  
 V rbem locauit, littora cui concessimus 16  
 aranda, spe connubij quod perfida  
 300 nunc reppulit, AEnaeam tori, indignum, sui  
 regnique consortem facit. alter paris  
 mulieribus cinctus, madensque crinibus  
 pulcherrima potitur unctis, nos tua  
 muneribus exornare templa ditibus  
 305 frustra solemus, teque nequicquam meum  
 O summe Iupiter genitorem existimo.

287. Cf. Lucan. II, 523: in medios belli non ire furores; 5,36: bellorum primus sparsit furor.

291-306. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 206-218: Iuppiter omnipotens, cui nunc Maurusia pictis / gens epulata toris Lenaeum libat honorem, / aspicias haec? an te, genitor, cum fulmina torques, / nequicquam horremus, caecique in nubibus ignes / terrificant animos et inania murmura miscent? / femina, quae nostris errans in finibus urbem / exiguum pretio posuit, cui litus arandum / cuique loci leges dedimus, conubia nostra / reppulit ac dominum Aenean in regna recepit. / et nunc ille Paris cum semiviro comitatu, / Maeconia mentum mitra crinemque madentem / subnixus, rapto potitur: nos munera templis / quippe tuis ferimus famamque fovemus inanem.

293. Cf. Sen., *Thy.* 687, above ad vv. 97-88.

294-295. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* I, 245: vasto cum murmure montis.

\*299. perfida: former reading reppulit deleted.

301. Cf. Sen., *Agam.* 978: Concors pericli pariter ac regni mei; and below, v. 778.

Iupiter. Mercurius.

- Q uam rebus est praesentibus intenta mens  
humana! quam parum futurarum anxia!  
quam sedulo quae turpia sunt, mortalibus  
310 melioris oblitis coluntur nominis!  
quos inter AEnaeas Phrygum sanctissimus  
haud infimus est, cui fertilis et praepotens  
Italia fati immerenti contigit,  
quam negligit, Carthaginemque tumidam  
315 nunc anxie ornat, et nouas arces locat,  
aedesque vetustate collapsas nouat,  
S ponsaeque promissae immemor, cum diuite  
pulchraque Elisa tempus et aetatem terit.  
Hermes, Deorum nuntie facundissime,  
320 quin vade, vocaque Zephyros, celerrimis  
instructe penni labere, et Phrygium ducem  
Carthagine qui nunc moratur, nec datas  
fatis sibi urbes respicit aut curat, mone  
celerique dicta refer viro, gradu, mea

- 
307. Cf. Sen., *Ira* III, 41.1: intenta mens ad unius honesti cupiditatem.  
312-313. Cf. Sen., *Cons. Helv.* 7,8: praepotentis Italiae conspectus; Ter., *Hec.* 740: offerre iniuriam tibi immerenti.  
314-315. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 265-267: tu *nunc Carthaginis altae* / *fundamenta locas* / *pulchramque uxori urbem* / *exstruis?*  
260: Aenean fundantem *arces* ac tecta novantem.  
316. Cf. Suet., *Aug.* 30,2: Aedes sacras vetustate conlapsas aut incendio absumptas refecit et ceteras opulentissimis donis adornavit.  
319. Cf. Hor., *Carm.* I, 10.1: Mercuri, facunde nepos Atlantis, and 5-6: magni Iovis et deorum/nuntium.  
320-337. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 223-236: *vade age, nate, voca Zephyros et labere pinnis* / *Dardaniumque ducem*, *Tyria Karthagine qui nunc* / *exspectat fatisque datas non respicit urbes*, / *adloquere et celeris defer mea dicta per auras* / *non illum nobis genetrix pulcherrima talem* / *promisit Graiumque ideo bis vindicat armis*; / *sed fore, qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem* / *Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucri* / *proderet, ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem*. / *si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum* / *nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem*, / *Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arces?* / *quid struit?* aut qua spe *inimica in gente moratur* / *nec prolem Ausoniam et Lavinia respicit arva?*  
324. Cf. Plaut., *Tri.* 623: celeri gradu eunt.

- 325 Non diua Venus talem fore promiserat  
 armisque graium idcirco non bis vindicat,  
 sed qui potentis et imperatorum foret  
 terrae feracis sector, alto a sanguine  
 Teucris genus qui proderet, ac integrum  
 330 submitteret orbem legibus. quid si virum  
 non gloria tantorum mouet: nec si sua  
 hos laude labores moliatur improbos  
 nato suo pater quirinas inuidet  
 arces? quid aedes regias demens parat?  
 335 quorsumne inimica in gente posteris suis  
 tam diu moratur? liberos cur Italos

Nec arua tandem respicit Lauinia?

18

discedat: hoc unum volo, hoc ipsi refer.

Mer. Quis improbus summi Deorum et maximi

- 340 non exequatur iussa? protinus tua  
 o Iupiter mandata Troiano feram  
 terramque fatalem viro per aequora  
 ventosque, non Carthaginis luxum impiae,  
 posse inueniri suggeram. Talaribus  
 345 quo tecta citius regia tangam pede  
 instructus adsum, queis super alta aequora  
 superque terras cum violento flamine  
 portor; meum caduceum quo pallidae  
 mittuntur animae Tartaro quique auocat  
 350 ipsas ab orco, confero, sic mortalibus

\*331. nec: *former reading* quid.

\*332. laude: *corrected from a former reading* lab(?).

338-340. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 237-239: haec summa est, hic nostri nuntius esto. / Dixerat. ille patris magni parere parabat / imperio.

342-343. per aequora ventosque: repeated in v. 378-379 and 504-505; cf. Verg., *Aen.* VI, 355: immensa per aequora.

343. The verse is repeated in v. 387.

344-353. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 239-246: et primum *pedibus talaria* nectit / aurea, quae sublimem alis sive *aequora supra* / seu *terram* rapido pariter *cum flamine* portant. / tum *virgam* capit; hac *animas* ille *evocat Orco* / *pallentis*, alias sub *Tartara* tristia mittit, / *dat somnos* adimitque et *lumina* morte resignat. / illa *fretus* agit ventos et turbida *tranat* / *nubila*. iamque *volans*.



somnos et addit et adimit, atque lumina  
 leto resignat, hocque fretus nubila  
 pernicious alis trano, quolibet volans.

AEnaeas. Mercurius.

19

G rates tibi summe Iupiter, vobisque reliqui Coelites  
 355 ago, quod hic finis mihi grauissimi  
 laboris adsit, quodque vos terram mihi  
 ostenderitis dulcissimam, qua non velut  
 nos exteros profugosque terra patria,  
 verum quasi firmissimo ipsis foedere  
 360 iunctos colunt. quin imo me Dido sibi  
 legit maritum, et in potestatem meam  
 regni moderamen tradidit, Carthagini  
 renouationem et arcium mihi credidit,  
 cui diligenter ut decet operam dabo  
 365 regemque me praebebo Poenis sedulum.

Mer. O nate Dea, quid Hesperidum nunc immemor  
 Carthagini altae dira fundas moenia?  
 pulchrasque, faeminae nimis inseruiens,  
 quid exstruis arces? Ipse me summus Deum  
 370 regnator, ipse qui gubernat numine  
 coelum atque terras, huc voluit descendere  
 ad te, tibi iussa perferri sua

C eleres per auras. quid struis? qua spe teris

20

353. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 180: pedibus celerem et *pernicious alis*.

354-365. This passage has no direct parallel in *Aen.* IV. Aeneas' prayer, revealing his feelings of satisfaction and thankfulness towards the gods for finally giving him a land to settle in, stands in sharp contrast with the message Mercury is to bring and enforces the tension in the dramatical development.

362-363. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 260: Aenean fundantem *arces et tecta novantem*.

366-377. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 265-276: *tu nunc Karthagini altae / fundamenta locas pulchramque uxoris urbem / exstruis? heu! regni rerumque oblite tuarum! / ipse deum tibi me claro demittit Olympo / regnator, caelum et terras qui numine torquet; / ipse haec ferre iubet celeris mandata per auras. / quid struis? aut qua spe Libycis teris otia terris? / si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum / nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem, / Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli / respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus / debentur.*

his otia terris? nulla si te commouet  
 375 gloria laborum, neque tibi per ardua  
 quaesita laus placere potest, quin filium  
 Italia cui fatis data est, nunc respice.

AE. Lauinia rursus littora per aequora  
 ventosque, mihi quaerenda sunt? nunquam mihi  
 380 finem laborum DI dabunt? nunquam miser  
 solutus aetatem exigam molestijs!  
 heu! quando terram fata quam tribuunt mihi  
 tandem tenebo? regnaque fatalia  
 cui sideri subiecta iacent? quonam loco  
 385 mundiue parte quaerere me iubet Deus?  
 per aequora dicit perque graues molestias  
 ventosque non Carthaginis luxum impiae.  
 agite viri, classem parate taciti

ne quis resciscat, naeue praeceptis Dei  
 390 resistat ullus. mox ubi Titan sua  
 submerserit undis lumina, conscendere  
 pelagum furem nos iubet diuum pater

H ominumque. Rex, qui quaerere nos fatalia  
 vult regna. quare haec ocyus ut peracta sint  
 395 curate vos. nunc qua ratione? quo modo?  
 ambire amore perditam potero miser?  
 quid dicere primum quamue causari meae  
 potero fugae causam? profecto nescio.  
 obstare fata quod maneam, nec sponte nos  
 400 lauinia sequi littora ipsi suggeram.

21

377. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 225: *fatisque datas non respicit urbes.*

378. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* I, 2-3: *Laviniaque venit / littora.*

380. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* I, 241: *quam das finem, rex magne, laborum?*

383. Cf. Sil., *Pun.* XVII, 347-348: *regna fatalia / Teucrorum.*

384. Cf. Sen., *Ph.* 4-5: *quae saxosae loca Parnetho / subiecta iacent.*

387. See above, v. 343.

388. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 299: *armari classem cursumque parari*; 289: *classem aptent taciti.*

393-394. Cf. above, v. 383.

395. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 115, above v. 166-167.

395-398. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 283-284: *quo nunc reginam ambire furem / audeat adfatu? quae prima exordia sumat.*

399. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 440: *fata obstant*; 361: *Italiam non sponte sequor.*

400. Cf. above, v. 378.

## Dido. AEnaeas.

- O perfide, te tantum nefas diem putas  
 celare posse et urbe sic tacitum mea  
 regnoque sic excedere nostro existimas?  
 nil mutuus te mouet amor? nil dextera  
 405 quondam data? nil funere acerbissimo  
 moritura te Dido mouet? quid aspero  
 moliris abiturum tempore, atque aquilonibus  
 medijs quid ire per aequora demens cogitas?  
 quavis fera crudelior, aliena si  
 410 non arua nec notas domos nunc quaereres,  
 firmoque si constaret adhuc fundamine  
 T ua Troia, nec victoris ultrici manu  
 destructa foret, an pergamum per aequora  
 hoc tempore demens quaereres. non arbitror.  
 415 Quid! mene fugis? per has ego te lachrymas  
 nec non tuam per dexteram, quando mihi  
 iam nil aliud miserae reliqui, nostra per

22

401-439. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 305-330: Dissimulare etiam sperasti, *perfide*, tantum / posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra? / nec te noster amor nec te data dextera quondam / nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido? / quin etiam hiberno moliris sidere classem / et medijs properas Aquilonibus ire per altum, / crudelis? quid? si non arva aliena domosque / ignotas peteres, et Troia antiqua maneret, / Troia per undosum peteretur classibus aequor? / mene fugis? per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te / (quando aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa reliqui), / per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos, / si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam / dulce meum, miserere domus labentis et istam, / oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem. / te propter Lybiae gentes Nomadumque tyranni / odere, infensi Tyrii; te propter eundem / extinctus pudor et, qua sola sidera adibam, / fama prior. cui me moribundam deseris, hospes, / hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat? / quid moror? an mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater / destruat aut captam ducat Gaetulus Iarbas? / saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset / ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi parvulus aula / luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret, / non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer.

\*403 nostro: former reading posse deleted.

405. Cf. Sen., *Cons. Pol.* 17,4: occupationibus acerbissimi funeris.

\*410 nunc: former reading non deleted.

- 420      connubia, per caeptos hymenaeos, si tibi  
             quicquam mei acceptum fuit, seu quippiam  
             de te boni merita fui, nostrae domus  
             miserum labentis, tuamque oro feram  
             si quid meae preces valent, mentem exue.  
             Te propter unum Lybica gens, te propter et  
             nomadum Tyranni odere me, propterque te  
 425      infensa mihi tota Africa, seuissima  
             bellis minatur, teque propter unicum  
             perijt pudor quondam mihi certissimus,  
             et fama, qua sola mihi contingere  
             vel astra licebat, occidet! quonam fugis?  
 430      cui quaeso me morti propinquam deseris  
             crudelis hospes? hoc enim nomen tibi  
             D e coniuge solum reliquum est, ecquid moror?  
             an moenia dum frater mea auarus destruat?  
             captamue deducat Tyri tyrannus hinc?  
 435      si quis mihi susceptus esset filius  
             de te mihi si paruulus in regia  
             nunc luderet AEmaeas patrem tantummodo  
             qui referat ore, non equidem plane mihi  
             deserta vel captiua viderer, improbe.  
 440 AE. nunquam, veneranda Dido, quae memoras mihi

421.      Metrically this line seems to be too short.

\*427.      certissimus: *corrected from the former reading gratissimus.*

440-477. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 333-361: ego te, quae plurima fando / enumerare vales, numquam, regina, negabo / promeritam, nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae, / dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus. / pro re pauca loquar. neque ego hanc abscondere furto / speravi (ne finge) fugam, nec coniugis umquam / praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni. / me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam / auspiciis et sponte mea componere curas, / urbem Troianam primum dulcisque meorum / reliquias colerem, Priami tecta alta manerent / et recidiva manu posuissem Pergama victis. / sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo, / Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes; / hic amor, haec patria est. si te Karthaginis arces / Phoenissam Libyaeque aspectus detinet urbis, / quae tandem Ausonia Teucros considerare terra / invidia est? et nos fas extera quaerere regna. / me patris Anchisae, quotiens umentibus umbris nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt, / admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago; / me puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari, / quem

meruisse te negabo naeue unquam tui  
 dum spiritus hos artus reget, dum lumine  
 fruar, meminisse me pigebit, paucula  
 pro re loquar, minime meam celare te  
 445 profectionem, clanculum nec urbe sic  
 excedere speravi, nec unquam coniugem  
 tibi sponendi me fore, nec talia  
 contraximus unquam foedera. D. vah perfide!

AE. o si mihi per fata liceret ducere  
 450 arbitrio vitam meo, curas meas  
 componere pro libitu meo, mox Pergamum

C olerem et penates patrios, superbaque  
 Priami maneret regia, Troianaque  
 24  
 conuulsa restaurare tecta, mens mea  
 445 desideraret maxime. sed diuitem  
 Italiam Apollo fataque iubent quaerere.  
 hic amor Elisa me mouet, haec patria est  
 promissa fatis, si tibi Carthaginis  
 arcesque Lybycaeque si placet urbis decor,  
 460 nobis quid Hesperiam inuides? et nos decet  
 externa quaerere regna, me cari patris  
 quoties opaca nocte terra absconditur,  
 quoties diurnis lassa mens laboribus  
 noctu quiescit, astra quoties ignea  
 465 surgunt, imago territat, meque admonet  
 ut protinus mandata diuorum exequar:  
 terraque fatali, nihil molestias  
 curans per aequora potiar. me filius  
 capitisque cari commouet iniuria

---

*regno Hesperiae fraude et fatalibus arvis. / nunc etiam interpretis diuum,  
 Iove missus ab ipso / (testor utrumque caput), celeris mandata per auras  
 / detulit; ipse deum manifesto in lumine vidi / intransit muros  
 vocemque his auribus hausi. / desine meque tuis incendere teque  
 querellis. / Italiam non sponte sequor.*

440-441. Cf. Sen., *Ph.* 177-178: *Quae memoras scio/vera esse, nutrix.*

449-450. Cf. Sen., *Oed.* 882-883: *Fata si liceat mihi/fingere arbitrio meo.*

452. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* II, 717: *patriosque penates*; (Sen.), *Oct.* 149: *patrios penates.*

463-464. Cf. Sen., *Herc. O.* 1430: *lassam deserit mentem quies.*

470 quem fraudo regnis, insuper interpret Deum  
quos testor, ab Ioue missus huc per aethera,

M andata tulit, his proprijs oculis Deum  
in moenia descendisse vidi, hic auribus  
praecepta concepi meis; quin desine

25

475 te meque querelis lacescere tuis,  
inuitus eo, nec sponte nos lauinia  
regina sequimur littora.

DI. Non diua te genuit, tui nec Dardanus  
vere numeratur generis author ultimus

480 sceleste, verum caucanus durissimus  
horrendus undique cautibus, te protulit,  
tigridumque quas Hircania ferox alit  
lactatus uberibus nefaste. quorsum enim  
dissimulo? Vel quibus miseram me casibus

485 posthac reseruo? lachrymis numquid meis  
ingemuit? an ad me sua unquam lumina  
reflexit atrox? anne victus lachrymas  
ullas dedit? an omnium miserrimam  
miseratur amantem? quae quibus praeponere

---

476-477. Cf. above, v. 378.

477. Our playwright seems to follow Virgil even in his incomplete verse, *Aen.* IV, 361.

478-514. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 365-387: *nec tibi diva parens, generis nec Dardanus auctor, / perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens / Caucasus, Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres. / nam quid dissimulo aut quae me ad maiora reservo? / num fletu ingemuit nostro? num lumina flexit? / num lacrimas victus dedit aut miseratus amantem est? / quae quibus anteferam? iam iam nec maxima Iuno / nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis. / nusquam tuta fides. eiectione litore, egentem / excepi et regni demens in parte locavi; / amissam classem, socios a morte reduxi. / heu! furiis incensa feror: nunc augur Apollo, / nunc Lyciae sortes, nunc et Iove missus ab ipso / interpret divum fert horrida iussa per auras. / scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos / sollicitat. neque te teneo neque dicta refello: / i, sequere Italiam ventis, pete regna per undas. / spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt, / supplicia hausurum scopulis et nomine Dido / saepe vocaturum. sequar atris ignibus absens / et, cum frigida mors anima seducerit artus, / omnibus umbra locis adero. dabis, improbe, poenas. / audiam et haec Manis veniet mihi fama sub imos.*

\*482. Hircania: corrected from a former reading Hercania (?).

- 490 nunc expedit? an Saturnius haec oculis pater  
videt benignus? an Dearum maxima  
T ibi tanta perfidia placet? vah nullibi 26  
sat tuta fides! miserrimum tecto meo  
demens recepi: participem regni mei  
495 fecisse sero poenitet. quin perditam  
classem sociosque in fluctibus miserrimos  
vitae reduxi. incensa nunc furijs agor.  
mercurium et insontes Deos vaferrime  
praetendis, Apollinisque sancta oracula,  
500 lyciasque sortes, scilicet is superos labor  
et cura sollicitat quietos, pectoris  
hoc facinus est nequam tui, quin vadis hinc?  
nec te teneo nec dicta refello tua.  
Italica cur non arua nunc per aequora  
505 ventosque quaeris? oro equidem pios Deos,  
si quid valeant, ut te medijs in fluctibus  
scopulisque torqueant nefastum et improbum  
ut nomine absentem voces saepissime  
Dido, sequar tete ignibus furialibus,  
510 quandoque me mors frigida occupauerit  
ultura perfidiam omnibus adero locis  
S tygijs relictis, omnibus modis mihi 27  
poenas daturus improbe, teque exaudiam  
manesque sub imos fama perueniet mihi.
- 515 AEn. Mulieris afflictas quidem moeror mouet,  
magis tamen mandata me Diuum mouent  
qui linquere me Carthaginem atque noxios  
Didonis amores admonent. utinam tui  
Regina misereri liceret, non ita  
520 urbem tuam relinquerem, nec me darem  
pelago furenti et maximis periculis,

498-499. Sen., *Tro.* 753-754: vatem et insontes deos / praetendis.

501-502. Sen., *Tro.* 754: hoc est pectoris facinus tui.

506. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* I, 109: saxa vocant Itali, medijs quae in fluctibus, aras.

515-516. Sen., *Tro.* 736-737: Matris quidem me moeror attonitae movet, / magis Pelasgae me tamen matres movent.

516. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 396: iussa tamen Divum exequitur.

\*520-521. me darem / pelago: former reading me / darem pelago, corrected by adding darem in 520, and deleting darem in 521.

521. Cf. Avien., *orb. terr.* 49-50: una furenti / natura est pelago.

sed Di vetant fatumque ineuitabile  
 quod omnia versat. Tempus est nunc ut meos  
 socios reuisam, et classis ut instructa sit  
 525 curare decet, profectioni proximae  
 ne quippiam desit, moramue praebeat.

Chorus.

R apitur quo tristis Elisa?  
 facinus quid mente volutat?  
 ecquid parat inuida Teucris?  
 530 F urijs accensa vagatur  
 veluti lupa foetibus orba,  
 cursu furibunda pererrat  
 siluasque viasque frequentes.  
 causas amor iraque praeceps  
 535 similes fecere furoris,  
 Phrygio viduata marito  
 ipsum nunc ardet et odit.  
 quid non mortalia cogis  
 tu pectora dire Cupido?  
 540 heu quis primus fuit ille  
 saeue qui laesit amore

28

- 
522. Cf. Manil., *Astron.* II, 113: certum est et inevitabile fatum.  
 523. Cf. Verg., *Ecl.* 9,5: quoniam fors *omnia versat*.  
 524. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 396: *classemque revisit*.  
 \*525. profectioni: *corrected from the former reading* profectione.  
 527-546. This third and last choral interlude is in catalectic anapaestic dimeters,  
 as Sen., *Ph.* 959 sqq.  
 527-529. Sen., *Med.* 849-852: *Quonam cruenta maenas / praeceps amore saevo /*  
*rapitur? quod impotenti / facinus parat furore?*  
 528. Cf. Lucr. III, 240: *quae mente volutat*.  
 530. Cf. above, v. 497 and Verg., *Aen.* IV, 376 quoted there.  
 531-533. Sen., *Med.* 862-865: *huc fert pedes et illuc / ut tigris orba natis / cursu*  
*furere lustrat / Gangeticum nemus*.  
 Cf. also Verg., *Aen.* IV, 363: *totumque pererrat*.  
 534. Sen., *Med.* 868-869: *Nunc ira amorque causam / iunxere*.  
 534-535. Sen., *Ph.* 540-541: *Rupere foedus impius lucri furor / et ira praeceps*.  
 536. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 103: *liceat Phrygio servire marito*.  
 536-537. Sen., *Med.* 581-582: *quanta cum coniunx viduata taedis / ardet et odit*.  
 538-539. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 412: *improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis*.  
 541. Sen., *Med.* 850: *praeceps amore saevo*.



animos et pectora nostra?  
 quisquis sit, dignus ut alto  
 pelago mergatur, et una  
 545 secum periturus amorem  
 fundo tenus attrahat omnem.

Anna. Dido.

29

L anguescit animus, membra quatiuntur metu,  
 paueoque cum recordor ut sese dolor  
 sororis accendat meae. mirabile  
 550 ut amor et ira discrepant! quantum valent  
 in foemina? quem nunc amat, mox oderit  
 eiusque cuius amore languet animam  
 damnabit orco, si modo voti sibi  
 futura compos non videtur. his mea  
 555 stimulis soror agitata sensibus suis  
 vix imperat. sed exijt et vultu quidem  
 fletu rigato, mollior hodie quidem  
 nec tam furiosa quam solet, ad me venit:  
 quis te soror commouet afflictam dolor?  
 560 quid misera passim lachrymis teipsam enecas?

---

\*543. ut alto: *corrected from the former reading alto ut by deleting alto and adding it after ut.*

543-544 Cf. Vulg., Matth. 18,6: expedit ei ut ... demergatur in profundum maris.

\*544. et una: *corrected from the former reading et amor by deleting amor and adding una.*

547-566. This passage is still more exclusively based on borrowings from Seneca's tragedies than the preceding choral interlude which, within the Senecan sentences, re-echoed Virgilian formulas too.

547. Sen., *Tro.* 623: Reliquit *animus membra, quatiuntur*, labant.

548-549. Sen., *Med.* 670-672: Pavet animus, horret, magna perniciēs adest. / immane quantum augescit et semet dolor / accendit ipse.

550. Cf. above, v. 534.

553. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 699: Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.

\*553-554. Cf. Sen., *Ph.* 710: nunc me compotem voti facis.

555. Cf. Ovid., *Fast.* II, 779: ardet et iniusti stimulis agitated amoris.

555-556. Cf. Sen., *Epist.* 66,32: Non enim servit (ratio), sed imperat sensibus.

557. Cf. Sen., *Tro.* 410-411: effuso genas / fletu rigatis.

559. Sen., *Tro.* 426: *Quis te repens commovit afflictam metus?*

quin statue tandem grauibus aerumnis modum  
 finemque amoris noxio. quid me soror  
 celare vis? quin exprimis luctus tuos  
 aperisque nobis? forsitan prudentia  
 565 consilia plus poterunt mea, quam feruidus  
 nulloque consilio violentus impetus.

DI. Heu quid rogas! videsne circum littora  
 properare Teucros? non vides ut undique  
 iam confluant? an non vides ut carbasus  
 570 exspectat auram commodam? quia et rates  
 laetus coronat nauta proximae fugae  
 omnia parata conspicias. hoc si soror  
 potui malum sperare idem fortissime  
 superabo. verum hoc unicum munus mihi  
 575 exsequere nunc, te solam enim ille perfidus  
 colere solebat, quin tibi arcanissima  
 credebat, ipsius viri mollissima  
 tu tempora noras atque aditus facillimos  
 supplex Tyranno haec dicta perferto mea.

561-562. Sen., *Herc. F.* 206-207: iam statue tandem gravibus aerumnis modum / finemque cladi.

\*562. soror: formerly the scribe made the mistake of adding celare vis to this line, but rightly deleted the words.

566. Cf. Sen., *Pho.* 347: Mitte violentum impetum.

568-597. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 416-436: Anna, vides toto properari litore circum; / undique convenere; vocat iam carbasus auras, / puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas. / hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem, / et perferre, soror, potero. miserae hoc tamen unum / exsequere, Anna, mihi: solam nam perfidus ille / te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus; / sola viri mollis aditus et tempora noras. / i, soror, atque hostem supplex adfare superbum. / non ego cum Danais Troianam exscindere gentem / Aulide iuravi classemve ad Pergama misi, / nec patris Anchisae cineres Manisve revelli; / cur mea dicta negat duras demittere in auris? / quo ruit? extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti: / exspectet facilemque fugam ventosque ferentis. / non iam coniugium antiquum, quod prodidit, oro, / nec pulchro ut Latio careat regnumque relinquit; / tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori, / dum mea me victam doceat fortuna dolere. / extremam hanc oro veniam (miserere sororis); / quam mihi cum dederit, cumulatam morte remittam.

571-572. Cf. (Sen.), *Oct.* 519-520: puppibus Nilum petit / fugae paratis.

- 580 non ego Pelasgis iuncta gentem Troicam  
 excindere iuravi Aulide, nec militem  
 ad pergama misi, nec patris carissimi  
 cineres reuelli, cur inexorabilis  
 mea dicta spernit? quo ruit? quonam fugit?  
 585 hoc ultimum det munus amanti mihi  
 aptum fugiendi tempus exspectet, neque  
 S ese hyeme committat mari, sed prosperi  
 facilesque venti cum fauent. non pristinum,  
 quod prodidit, nunc expeto connubium,  
 590 nec Italiam, cui nunc meam Carthaginem  
 postponit oro ut deserat, tempus mihi  
 inane peto, requiemque furori meo.  
 aduersa dum fortuna me doceat meos  
 frenare luctus. ultimum hoc munus soror  
 595 miserere mei nunc expeto, quod cum mihi  
 collatum erit. propria manu, si non licet  
 per fata, mihi miserrima necem inferam.

31

Anna. AEnaeas.

- Q uid misera primum dicere? quid immobili  
 nullisque qui rationibus obtemperat  
 600 obijcere tandem potero? sensus haesitant,  
 animusque suspensus metu certi nihil  
 decernere potest. quam cito excidi mihi!  
 sed quin relicto qui meos sensus rapit  
 metu huc et illuc, perago mandatum meum?  
 605 age. verba nunc intrepida quin constent mea?  
 Q ui, quando quippiam petit, timide petit

32

- 
580. Cf. Sen., *Med.* 528: Scythas *Pelasgis iunge*.  
 584. Cf. Sen., *Thy.* 67: quas ipse *fugeres*, siste, *quo praeceps ruis*?  
 588. Cf. Ovid., *Her.* 2,19: ventos faventes; *Met.* XV, 49: ventisque faventibus.  
 \*598. primum: *former reading* primum in: in *deleted*.  
 602. Cf. Sen., *Ph.* 590: quam bene excideram mihi!  
 603. Cf. Cic., *Off.* 1,101: (vis in appetitu) quae hominem huc et illuc rapit.  
 604. Sen., *Ph.* 592-594: *perage mandatum tuum. / intrepida constent verba; qui timide rogat / docet negare.*

- negare docet. Tu qui relictæ Pergamo  
 igni atque ferro diruta, per æquora  
 vitæque mille pericula, Carthaginem  
 610 nostram subiisti qua tibi permissum fuit  
 reparare classem, qua quidem socijs tuis  
 sparsis procella conuenire datum erat,  
 quo nunc fugis? quo nunc sororis immemor  
 veterisque flammæ et pristini connubij  
 615 quod prodere iam nihil pudet, vah perfide!  
 tua vela vertis! si nihil hæc te mouent  
 benefacta, saltem foeminae moueat furor  
 ignisque flagrans, qui in dies magis ac magis  
 accenditur atque augetur. ah iniquissime  
 620 mortalibus amor imperat! ut diuidit  
 sua munera Venus, hic amore deperit,  
 sed ipse odio infensissimo amantem sui  
 odisse gaudet. si quidem iam non potes  
 mutare propositum tuum, quod maxime  
 625 laudabile alias foret, quod si tibi  
 Q uaerenda sunt aliena regna, quaeso ne  
 Carthaginem ventis iniquis deseras,  
 periculis ne te obijce cum fugere potes,  
 quid te ipse periculis grauibus imprudens grauas?  
 630 quem fata cogunt ille cum venia est miser  
 at si quis ultro suum malis offert caput,  
 indignus ut effugiat malum, quod ipsemet  
 incurrit ultro, per mare hic Carthagine

33

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613. Cf. above, v. 584.

614. Cf. above, v. 588-589.

615. Cf. above, v. 448.

616-617. Cf. above, v. 515-516.

617. Cf. Sen., *Ph.* 823: foeminae praeceps furor.

619. Cf. Sen., *Med.* 671-672: augescit et semet dolor / accendit ipse.

619-622. In the manuscript these verses are preceded by quotation marks, obviously to indicate their sententious nature. Cf. below vv. 661-662.

\*628. cum: *former reading* cum vitare: vitare *deleted*.

630-633. Sen., *Ph.* 440-443: quem fata cogunt, ille cum venia est miser; / at si quis ultro se malis offert volens / seque ipse torquet, perdere est dignus bona / quis nescit uti.

\*633. per mare: *former reading* potius *deleted*.

635 dum turbidum desaeuijt atque asperum  
 brumale tempus. cur sororem deseris?  
 ecquid miserrima mouit? aut Teucris mali  
 quid fecit unquam? hostile nil contra Phryges  
 molita, naeue milites ad pergamum  
 submisit unquam, naeue quod summum scelus  
 640 patris tui cinerem atque busta diruit.  
 te, quaeso, tandem lachrymae moueant meae,  
 miserisque questibus meis locum dato.

AEn. Tyriae domus generosa virgo, quid meas  
 inanibus aures verberare questibus  
 645 iuuat? sororis quid benefacta memoras  
 I mmerita? quorum, si mihi contingeret  
 millena viuere secula, nunquam excidet  
 memoria. qui nos hinc vocant testor Deos,  
 ita me maris saeuissima obruant mala,  
 650 inuitus eo. An. quorsum Deos sceleris tui  
 periure testes inuocas? AE. incredulis  
 ut vera pelluceant magis. A. nihil Deos  
 infide times, qui proprios animi dolos  
 Dis imputas sanctisque Diuum oraculis?  
 655 sed quaeso breuem largire moram; tantummodo  
 dum lachrymas questusque praesens audias  
 miserae sororis. AE. non licet, nunc auocant  
 me milites, quia anchoras classis legit.  
 A. nunc abijt, infelix quid agam! quid consilij  
 660 deserta sumam! qualibus miserrimam  
 solabor amantem modis? quam noxium est

34

634. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 52: dum pelago desaeuit hiems.

638. Cf. above, v. 581-582.

640. Cf. above, v. 582-583.

643. Sen., *Tro.* 871-872: Dardaniae domus / generosa virgo.

650. Cf. above, v. 476.

650-651. Cf. Sen., *Tro.* 53: superique testes sceleris.

655. Sen., *Med.* 288-289: precor, breuem largire fugienti moram, / dum ...  
 Sen., *Tro.* 760: Breuem moram largire, dum ...

657-658. Sen., *Tro.* 758-759: non vacat vanis diem / conterere verbis; anchoras classis legit.

661-662. For the quotation marks preceding these verses in the manuscript, cf. above at vv. 619-622.

ardere quenquam nec vicissim amarier.

Dido. Vmbra Sichaei.

- I tane meis infidus ille finibus  
excedet? o diuum pater haec aspicias  
665 O culis benignis? quotquot estis Coelites 35  
tantam potestis ferre perfidiam viri?  
nec improbum, sociosque cum classe integra  
obruitis undis? o ferum et intractabile  
phrygium genus, quando fauentibus utitur  
670 fruiturque rebus, o homo ingratisime!  
vah cuius amoribus fidem viro datam  
temere violasse poenitet. sed quid meos  
versatur ante oculos? eheu! manes mei  
video mariti. SI. O chara coniunx siccine  
675 fidem datam cineri meo obliuisceris?  
sic pristinis amoribus renuntias?  
quam magna perfidia premit alium nihil  
vocare perfidum pudet? quin sequere me  
ad Inferos, tibi que, si Parcae vetent  
680 deserere lucem, proprias infer manus,  
scelusque inexpressibile ferro dilue.
- DI. Quisquis profundo Tartari emissus specu  
tenebrosa linquens Ditis inferni loca  
lucem reuisis, quisquis es lubens sequar.
- 685 Violenta mors aliis quidem mortalibus 36  
verum mihi gratisima, quid miseram fugis?

\*662. ardere: above it is written (in a different hand?): amare.

662. amarier: cf. v. 47 morarier.

664-665. Cf. above, v. 490-491, and Verg., *Aen.* IV, 372: *haec oculis pater aspicit aequis*.

\*666. viri: above it is written: Phrygis.

668-669. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* I, 339: *finis Libyci, genus intractabile bello*.

672-673. Cf. Sen., *Tro.* 443: *nostros Hector ante oculos stetit*.

674. Cf. Sen., *Tro.* 453: *o fida coniunx*.

679-680. Cf. above, v. 596-597.

682-683. Sen., *Agam.* 1-2: *Opaca linquens Ditis inferni loca / adsum profundo Tartari emissus specu*.

685-686. Cf. Sen., *Tro.* 1170-1174: *mors votum meum, / infantibus violenta virginibus venis, ubique properas saeva; me solam times / vitasque, gladios inter ac tela et faces / quaesita tota nocte, cupientem fugis*.

- quin corpore me curisque edacibus exuis?  
 687a O mors amoris sola sedamen mei  
 687b Nec non pudoris maximi laesi decus  
 687c Confugimus ad te pande placatos sinus  
 687d Ades marite meque perfidiam meam  
 687e Cum spiritu simul exuturam conspice  
 687f Hac dextera marite tibi poenas dabo  
 687g Huic et nefasto pectori gladium inferam  
 687h Animaque memet pariter ac scelere exuam  
 687i Quin te per undas perque Taenareos specus  
 687j Per Styga per amnes igneos amens sequar.  
 sed me meis conatibus obstat soror  
 alio ableganda est. O soror carissima

687. Cf. Hor., *Carm.* II, 11, 18: curas edaces.

\*687a-687j. In the Manuscript, these lines have been added in the left margin opposite v. 687-694 on page 36. They seem to fit between v. 687 and v. 688. If it is an extension of the text added afterwards, this implies, that the copyist is identical with the playwright. It is quite possible however that we have to do with a simple mistake of the copyist who first omitted these lines and afterwards, having noticed his error, added them in the margin.

\*687a. mei: former reading michi (?), deleted.

687a-687c. Sen., *Ph.* 1188-1190: o mors amoris una sedamen mali, / o mors pudoris maximum laesi decus / confugimus ad te; pande placatos sinus.

687d-687j. Sen., *Ph.* 1175-1180: ades parumper verbaque exaudi mea, / nil turpe loquimur, hac manu poenas tibi / solvam et nefando pectori ferrum inseram / animaue Phaedram pariter ac scelere exuam, / et te per undas perque Tartareos lacus per Styga, per amnes igneos amens sequar.

688. Cf. Sen., *Epist.* 83,19: obstantem malis conatibus verecundiam.

689-722. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 478-498: inveni, germana, viam (gratare sorori), / quae mihi reddat eum vel eo me solvat amantem. / Oceani finem iuxta solemque cadentem / ultimus Aethiopum locus est, ubi maximus Atlas axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum: / hinc mihi Massylae gentis monstrata sacerdos / Hesperidum templi custos, epulasque draconi / quae dabat et sacros servabat in arbore ramos, / spargens umida mella soporiferumque papaver. / haec se carminibus promittit solvere mentes / quas velit, ast aliis duras immittere curas; / sistere aquam fluviiis et vertere sidera retro; / nocturnosque movet Manis; mugire videbis / sub pedibus terram et descendere montibus ornos. / testor, cara, deos et te, germana, tuumque / dulce caput, magicas invitam accingier artis. / tu secreta pyram tecto interiore sub auras / erige et arma viri, thalamo quae fixa reliquit / impius, exuviasque omnis lectumque iugalem, / quo perii, superimponas; abolere nefandi / cuncta viri monumenta iuvat, monstratque sacerdos.

- 690 gratare mihi, viam malis faustissimam  
reperi meis, qua vel mihi sese offerat  
mitissimum AEnaeas vel eo soluar statim.  
ubi maximi finis videtur aequoris,  
ubi radios Sol inclytus undis tegit  
695 extremis Aethiopum est locus, ubi maximus  
humeris Atlas coelum tenet, micantibus  
stellis decorum, ibi mihi nouissime  
monstrata sacerdos Africa est, sanctissima  
quae limina templi seruat Hesperidum vigil,  
700 epulasque Draconi qua porrigere regias  
solebat, atque in arbore ramos aureos  
custodiebat, mella spargens humida  
tum quae soporem conciliant papauera,  
carminibus haec se soluere mentes praedicat,  
705 Q uascunque velit, alijsque curas maximas 37  
immittere potest, quin aquam quae profluit  
tenere potest, cursumque velocissimum  
diuina prohibet indies, et sidera  
descendere Coelo praecipit, et retrogredi,  
710 manesque nocturnos ciet, soror audies  
ut mugiat sub pedibus et tellus tremat,  
quin montibus descendere cernes arbores.  
germana Deos tuumque caput dulcissimum  
testor quod inuitam illicitas artes amor  
715 consulere cogat. Tu sub auras intimis  
secreta pyram tectis para statim, impius  
quaecunque reliquit arma: quas thalamo meo  
fixas reliquit exuias, lectumque quo  
primum miserrima perij, pyrae iniice.  
720 monumenta viri quaecunque relictas sunt mihi  
corrumpere flammis nos sacerdos admonet.  
hoc cara soror miserere amantis, effice.

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694. Cf. Sen., *Ph.* 1162-1163: quidquid Oceanus vagis / complexus *undis*  
ultimo fluctu *tegit*.

707. Cf. Sen., *Cons. Helv.* 6,7: et velocissimo cursu agitur.

\*716. secreta: *corrected from the former reading secretam.*



- Eheu quid agam? rursusne priores procos  
 experiar? an rursus Nomadum connubia  
 725 S upplex petam? quos fatua toties ego 38  
 spreui maritos. ergone Iliacas rates  
 atque ultima Teucrum iussa sequar? quasi quippiam  
 iuuat ante leuatos auxilio ingratos meo  
 veterisque facti haud excidat memoria.  
 730 hoc si faciam, quis me superbus nauibus  
 volet relictam? heu perdita necdum noueris  
 periuria gentis Troicae? quid? an fuga  
 laetos comitabor nauitas? an omnibus  
 stipata Poenis Iliacam classem insequare?  
 735 quos urge Sidonia viros mox extuli  
 conscendere rursus aequora cogam nauibus?  
 quin ut merita es miserrima mortem subi,  
 ferroque dolores excute tandem maximos.  
 Tu cara soror euicta lachrymis meis,  
 740 tu prima furentem nescia me tantis malis  
 oneras et hosti me obijcis implacabili.  
 heu non potui sine crimine vitam degere  
 nec more ferae connubij expers viuere?  
 nec tam graues omittere curas? hei mihi!  
 745 F ideī, Sichaeo quam dedi, fui immemor. 39

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723-745. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 534-552: en, *quid ago? rursusne procos inrisa priores / experiar, Nomadumque petam conubia supplex, / quos ego sim totiens iam dedignata maritos? / Iliacas igitur classis atque ultima Teucrum / iussa sequar? quiane auxilio iuvat ante levatos / et bene apud memores veteris stat gratia facti? / quis me autem, fac velle, sinet ratibusve superbis / invisam accipiet? nescis, heu! perdita, necdum / Laomedontae sentis periuria gentis? / quid tum? sola fuga nautas comitabor ovantis? / an Tyriis omnique manu stipata meorum / inferar et, quos Sidonia vix urbe revelli, / rursus agam pelago et ventis dare vela iubebo? / quin morere, ut merita es, ferroque averte dolorem. / tu lacrimis evicta meis, tu prima furentem / his, germana, malis oneras atque obicis hosti. / non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam / degere, more ferae, talis nec tangere curas; / non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo.*

736. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* I, 381: *conscendi navibus aequor.*

## Mercurius. AEnaeas.

- O nate Dea potesne casu hoc ducere  
 somnos quietus? non vides quae te manent  
 pericula demens? auribus nec percipis  
 ventos tibi spirare secundos? perdita  
 750 Elisa dolos scelusque dirum pectore  
 versat moritura, et maximo irae fluctuat  
 aestu. quid hic morare? quin profugis statim  
 dum fugere licet? iam videbis littora  
 obsessa poenis, quin et infestas faces  
 755 lucere videbis, et aequora vastis nauibus  
 turbarier. si te hic dies deprenderit.  
 quin fuge statim, mutabile semper foemina est.
- AE. Vigilate viri, transtrisque citi considite,  
 mox pandite vela, nos Deus ab aethere  
 760 qui missus adest, properare iubet, incidite  
 funes cito, quia admonet iterum Deus,  
 Te quisquis es sequimur lubentes, o faue  
 nobisque dexter ades Deum sanctissime.

Dido. Anna. Satellites.

40

P ro, sancta, si coelum incolis numen tuum

- 746-763. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 560-570: *nate dea, potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos, / nec quae te circum stent deinde pericula cernis, / demens, nec Zephyros audis spirare secundos? / illa dolos dirumque nefas in pectore versat, / certa mori, varioque irarum fluctuat aestu. / non fugis hinc praeceps, dum praecipitare potestas? / iam mare turbari trabibus saevasque videbis / conlucere faces, iam fervere litora flammis, / si te his attigerit terris Aurora morantem. / heia age, rumpe moras! varium et mutabile semper / femina.*  
 573-579: *praecipites vigilate, viri, et considite transtris / solvite vela citi. deus aethere missus ab alto / festinare fugam tortosque incidere funis / ecce iterum instimulat. sequimur te, sancte deorum, / quisquis es, imperioque iterum paremus ovantes. / adsis o placidusque iuves et sidera caelo dextra feras.*
752. Cf. Sen., *Med.* 988: quid nunc moraris?
756. turbarier: cf. v. 47 morarier.
- 764-827. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 590-629: *pro Iuppiter! ibit / hic, ait, et nostris inluserit advena regnis? / non arma expedient totaque ex urbe sequentur, / deripientque rates alii navalibus? ite, / ferte citi flammas, date tela,*

- 765 imploro, fides, pro maxime diuum pater,  
 sic abijt ille perfidus? regnis meis  
 illuserit exul aduena? quin arma mox  
 depromite vos? quin tota Carthago virum  
 igni atque ferro persequatur impium?  
 770 diripite classem Troicam, remos citi  
 impellite, vela pandite, infestas rates  
 consumite flammis, quotquot in urbe degitis  
 adeste poeni, iniuriam illatam mihi  
 iam vindicate. sed quid ago? quid nam loquor?  
 775 ubi misera sum? quis ardor immutat meos  
 sensus? meam quis occupat mentem furor?  
 heu! misera iam nunc impia te fata impetunt,

---

*impellite remos! / quid loquor? aut ubi sum? quae mentem insania mutat? / infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt? / tum decuit, cum sceptrā dabas. en dextra fidesque, / quem secum patrios aiunt portare Penatis, / quem subiisse umeris confectum aetate parentem! / non potui abreptum divellere corpus et undis / spargere? non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro/ Ascanium patriisque epulandum ponere mensis? / verum anceps pugnae fuerat fortuna. fuisset; / quem metui moritura? faces in castra tulissem / implessemque foros flammis natumque patremque / cum genere extinxem, memet super ipsa dedissem. / Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras, / tuque harum interpres curarum et conscia Iuno, / nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes / et Dirae ultrices et di morientis Elissae, / accipite haec, meritumque malis advertite numen / et nostras audite preces. si tangere portus / infandum caput ac terris adnare necesse est, / et sic fata Iovis poscunt, hic terminus haeret: / at bello audacis populi vexatus et armis, / finibus extorris, complexu avolsus Iuli, / auxilium imploret videatque indigna suorum / funera; nec, cum se sub leges pacis iniquae / tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur, / sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena. / haec precor, hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine fundo. / tum vos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum / exercete odiis, cinerique haec mittite nostro / munera. nullus amor populis nec foedera sunt. / exoriare, aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor, / qui face Dardanio ferroque sequare colonos, / nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires. / litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas / imprecor, arma armis; pugnent ipsique nepotesque.*

764-765. Sen., *Med.* 439-440: *sancta si caelum incolis / Iustitia, numen invoco ac testor tuum.*

777. fata: the playwright' copy of the Aeneid obviously contained this reading instead of the more commonly adopted facta.

- cum sceptrā dabas, regnique consortem tui  
 infausta faceres, tum decebat impium  
 780 arcere regni finibus. en dextera  
 fidesque viri quem patrios ratibus suis  
 portare Penates praedicant, quem patrios  
 artus humeris, aetate confectos, suis  
 S ubijisse dicunt. non potui abreptum viri 41  
 785 diuellere corpus, et medijs in fluctibus  
 dispergere? non comites Phryges? non paruuli  
 absumere ferro corpus Iuli, et patrijs  
 miscere membra ferculis? sed exitus  
 dubij fuisset pugna, quid tum? quid mali  
 790 metui moritura? non potui infestas faces  
 injicere castris? neque Dardanias rates  
 implere flammis? non patrem cum filio  
 totoque genere perfido potui simul  
 extinguere, meque his omnibus immittere?  
 795 O Phoebe qui mundum tuis illuminas  
 radijs, o curarum mearum conscia  
 diuina Iuno, tuquē diua Proserpina  
 ulutata nocturnis triuijs clamoribus,  
 diraeque atroces vindices, manes sacri  
 800 morientis Elisae, concipite haec, meritum malis  
 aduertite numen, et preces iusti meas  
 audite Diui. si caput infandum Deus  
 attingere portus atque tellurem iubet,  
 S i fatum id immutabile poscat Iouis. 42  
 805 at gentibus vexatis iniquis, finibus  
 proprijs relictis, careat amplexu sui  
 Ascanij, et impius auxilium frustra inuocet,  
 videatque suorum funera crudelissima,

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778. Cf. above, v. 301, with Sen., *Agam.* 978.  
 780. Cf. Sen., *Ira* I, 8.2: finibus hostis arcendus est.  
 785. Cf. above, v. 506, with Verg., *Aen.* I, 109.  
 \*790. faces: corrected from the former reading rates; cf. above v. 754 and v. 771.  
 807. impius: former reading impli deleted.  
 807. Cf. (Sen.), *Oct.* 137: Frustra parentis invocas manes tui.

- 810 nec pacis iniquae legibus cum se dedit  
regno fruatur Italico, nec plurimis  
sperata laboribus dies ipsi detur,  
sed ante diem fatisque minus praesentibus  
mortem oppetat, mediaque inhumatus concidat  
infidus arena, haec di precor, hanc vocem ultimam  
815 cum sanguine fundo, deinde vos fortissimi  
Tyrij, genus stirpemque futuram Troicam  
vexate bellis, haeque meo gratissima  
cineri dabuntur munera, nullus amor siet  
nec foedera genti perfidae, ex cinere meo  
820 iniuriarum acerrimus ultor prodeat  
qui sempiterna Dardanios agitet face  
ferroque sequatur impios, quocunque se  
et nunc et olim tempore vires dabunt.  
adversa littoribus precamur littora.
- 825 E t fluctibus undas arma Punica Phrygijs  
contraria sint, ipsique nepotes mutuis  
vexentur armis, marteque ciuili occidant.  
Annam huc sororem fida nutrix sistito  
fluuiatibus undis spargier corpus volo  
830 pecudesque secum et dicta piacula conferat,  
sic rite veniat, tuque, pia tua tempora  
vitta coronabis sacra quae Stygio Ioui  
parauimus perficere tempus admonet,  
finemque meis imponere curis volo,  
835 capitisque Dardanij rogum decreuimus  
permittere flammis, hoc mihi carissima  
exequere nutrix. Pignora eheu! dulcissima

43

813. Cf. Sen., *Tro.* 650: potius hic mortem oppetat.

827. Cf. Ovid., *Her.* 6,35: populos civili Marte peremptos.

828-837. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 634-640: *Annam, cara mihi nutrix, huc siste sororem; / dic corpus properet fluviali spargere lympa, / et pecudes secum et monstrata piacula ducat. / sic veniat, tuque ipsa pia tege tempora vitta. / sacra Iovi Stygio, quae rite incepta paravi, / perficere est animus finemque imponere curis / Dardaniique rogum capitismittere flammae.*

829. spargier: cf. v. 47 morarier.

837-851. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 651-662: *dulces exuviae, dum fata deusque sinebat, / accipite hanc animam meque his exsoluite curis. / vixet, quem dederat*

- dum fata sinebant, accipite hanc animam meam,  
 curisque liberate memet edacibus,  
 840 heu misera vixi, quemque largita est mihi  
 fortuna cursum infausta peregi hactenus.  
 nunc magna mei subibit imago Tartarum,  
 Regalia moenia statui, atque urbem meam  
 regina vidi, Coniugis necem mei  
 845 sat ulta, poenas frater infestus dedit,  
 H eu! fausta nimis si nostra nunquam littora  
 naues tetigissent Dardaniae. sed inulta sic  
 mortem subibo? sed moriar, sic, sic iuvat  
 ad Tartara mitti, capiat hunc oculis suis  
 850 nostrum cruorem Dardanus, et secum meae  
 ferat omina mortis. SA. adeste Poeni totaque  
 Carthago veni Regina manibus proprijs  
 peremta iacet. An. hoc illud o soror fuit?  
 me fraude petebas? hoc rogos voluit tuus?  
 855 hoc ara parabat? ignis hoc voluit sacer?  
 heu misera! quid primum querar? comitemne me  
 dilecta soror contemseras? eadem quoque  
 ad fata vocare me poteras, idem dolor  
 ferrumque sustulisset utramque, tempore  
 860 horaque eadem, manibus his struxi rogam

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*cursum Fortuna, peregi, / et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago. / urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia vidi, / ulta virum poenas inimico a fratre recepi, / felix, heu! nimium felix, si littora tantum / numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae! / dixit et os impressa toro, moriemur inultae, / sed moriamur, ait, sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras. / hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto / Dardanus et secum nostrae ferat omina mortis.*

839. Cf. above v. 687, with Hor., *Carm.* II, 11.18.

853-868. Verg., *Aen.* IV, 675-685: *hoc illud, germana, fuit? me fraude petebas? / hoc rogos iste mihi, hoc ignes araeque parabant? / quid primum deserta querar? comitemne sororem / sprevisti moriens? eadem me ad fata vocasses; / idem ambas ferro dolor atque eadem hora tulisset. / his etiam struxi manibus patriosque vocavi / voce deos, sic te ut posita, crudelis, abessem? / exstincti te meque, soror, populumque patresque / Sidonios urbemque tuam. date volnera lymphis / abluam et, extremus si quis super halitus errat, / ore legam.*

et voce Deos mea inuocaui patrios?

ideone soror ut te posita, miserrima

hic sola supersim, tigribus crudelior?

Te meque tuum populumque patresque Punicos

865 urbemque tuam extinguis simul, heu! satellites

corpus cruentum auferte, mox efficite vos

ut vulnera lymphis abluam, si spiritus

extremus adhuc supererret, ore legam meo.

Finis.

Lorenzo VISCIDO

UN POETA LATINO CONTEMPORANEO:  
JOSEPH TUSIANI\*

Joseph Tusiani, italiano di nascita, ma residente da molti anni negli U.S.A.<sup>1</sup>, a buon diritto può essere considerato un illustre poeta latino. Invocata in lingua classica, la sua Musa rivela una fresca spontaneità ed una mirabile raffinatezza, che fanno di lui uno dei più eminenti cultori di poesia latina della nostra epoca.

Tusiani si abbandona al *melos cordis* con la stessa passione e dedizione del Marullo, del Sannazzaro o del Pontano—tanto per citare alcuni poeti umanisti—, e si può dire che anche lui, conversando con le Pieridi, deponga la “veste cotidiana”, per indossare “panni ... curiali”. Durante il giorno, infatti, il nostro poeta svolge le funzioni di docente di Letteratura Italiana presso il Lehman College della City University of New York; ma, tornato a casa, dimentica, spesso e volentieri, il *modus dicendi* quotidiano, per onorare in lingua atavica la veneranda Camena.

Gli argomenti dal Tusiani trattati nelle sue poesie in latino sono varî e molteplici: ora pervasi di sensualità, ora vibranti di sentimenti ed affetti domestici, ora di carattere moralistico e malinconico, ora soffusi di graziosi quadri della natura.

\* Joseph Tusiani è nato a San Marco in Lamis (Foggia) nel 1924. Conseguito il Dottorato in Lingua e Letteratura Inglese presso l'Università di Napoli, egli si è trasferito nel 1947, insieme con la madre, a New York, dove ha sempre svolto l'attività di docente di Letteratura Italiana (College of Mount Saint Vincent; Hunter College, N.Y. University, Fordham University, Herbert H. Lehman College of the City Univ. of N.Y.) fino al 1983. Tusiani è internazionalmente noto come traduttore in lingua inglese dei classici italiani. Tra le sue opere vanno ricordate, in particolar modo, *The Complete Poems of Michelangelo*, *Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered* e *Tasso's Creation of the World*. È anche autore di tre raccolte di poesie in inglese (*Rind and All*, *The Fifth Season*, *Gente mia and Other Poems*), ed ha pubblicato molte liriche in giornali e riviste di prestigio, quali *The New York Times*, *The New Yorker*, *Poetry*, *La voix des Poètes*, *The Poetry Review* ecc. Noto, inoltre, come poeta di lingua latina, Joseph Tusiani ha collaborato finora a *Latina Lingua*, *Vita Latina*, *Latinitas*, *Palaestra Latina* e *The Classical Outlook*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. infra D. Sacré, “Appendicula: Iosephi Tusiani Carmina”.



Mi soffermerò qui su alcuni suoi carmi, onde rilevare come Tusiani bene riesca ad esprimere sensibilità moderne in una lingua antica, opera, questa, molto rara ed ardua nel secolo in cui viviamo.

Ricca di sensualità è l'elegia *Vivere optimum est*<sup>2</sup>, dalla quale traspare l'emozione del poeta per la luce di un nuovo giorno ed il suo profondo desiderio di vivere (*/Vita velut vinum corda per ima fluit/*). È per lui sufficiente, infatti, la vista del sole sfavillante nel cielo o il melodioso canto degli uccelli, perchè il suo animo s'impregni, ancora una volta, di amor di vita (*/Audacter rursus discit amorem animus/*).

Notevole è la raffinatezza del linguaggio, in cui la similitudine del *vinum*, nella sua posizione allitterante con i termini precedenti, e quella del *fulgur* (*/Me ceu fulgur amor, me super astra vehit/*) sono particolarmente atte a sottolineare lo stimolo alla vita che la nuova luce del giorno incute nel poeta. I distici, senza dubbio, si piegano con mirabile efficacia ad esprimere le sensazioni captate dall'animo del Nostro.

Gli affetti domestici del Tusiani emergono, in particolar modo, nel carme *Pro domo mea*<sup>3</sup>, anche questo in distici elegiaci. Il tono è augurale: il poeta rivolge giorni soavi alla madre (*/Quot venient post me vernalia carmina amoris,/ Tot volo te dulces, mater, habere dies/*), molte generazioni al padre (*/Quot, pater, ex ramis pendebunt mellea mala,/ Tot volo saecula te vivere, amate, domi/*), gioie d'amore al fratello (*/... tibi, frater, Amor delicias tribuat/*). Per sè egli chiede, con rara modestia, il dono di quella triplice *amicitia*.

La lettura del carme ci trasporta in un mondo di teneri affetti, in cui il poeta trasfonde la sua anima sensibile, assetata di amore familiare.

In metro elegiaco è anche il carme *Praeceptum irritum*<sup>4</sup>. Qui il Tusiani sembra derivare da Orazio un moralismo permeato da un'aura di comprensione. Le osservazioni del poeta sono gravide di saggezza: non ciò che ami, ma il modo come ami può dare una svolta alla vita:

*Non quod amas sed quomodo amas renovare potest te;*

un grande sole, infatti, uccide l'erba col suo grande amore:

*Sol herbam magno magnus amore necat.*

È, questa, una similitudine ben riuscita, in cui il poliptoto *magno magnus*,

<sup>2</sup> *The Classical Outlook*, May-June 1982, p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> *Latina Lingua*, maggio 1961, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> *The Classical Outlook*, May 1962, p. 97.

nella sua struttura chiastica, contiene una “dunamis” fortemente espressiva.

In altre circostanze l'anima del poeta si addentra in un malinconico colloquio con se stesso, prodotto dal senso della finitezza della nostra esistenza. È il caso dei *Melancholici versus*<sup>5</sup>, anche questi in metro elegiaco.

L'esametro iniziale richiama il noto *carpe diem* oraziano:

*Tange diem et noctem properantem tange ...*

Il poeta sottolinea, mediante l'“iteratio” *tange ... tange*, la necessità di godere della vita terrena, rilevando, con l'immagine della *nox properans*, la fugacità del tempo. Ciò si denota ancor meglio nei versi successivi, dove Tusiani afferma che solo quelle terrene sono le gioie possibili, seppure alternate con i dolori (*Nosce animi illecebras et corporis intima nosce / Gaudia ...*); l'uomo, quando è morto, non può più essere abbagliato da alcuna luce (*Nulla, oculis clausis, lux homini remanet*).

Non mancano nei carmi tusiani, come già s'è detto all'inizio, descrizioni di paesaggi naturali. E' da rilevare che queste non sono delle semplici *digressiones*, in cui di solito prevale solo l'elemento artistico. Tusiani, al contrario, vi infonde la sua anima: ritrova, insomma, nella natura il proprio io.

Uno squarcio descrittivo è dal Nostro tracciato con stupende pennellate nella saffica *Autumnus Neo-Eboracensis*<sup>6</sup>.

E' autunno: il poeta si abbandona a contemplare ed a percepire tutto ciò che suscita il suo *pathos*:

*Murmure aurato latices sonantes  
Garrulas spargunt ubicumque guttas:  
Caerulas, flavas, virides et albas  
Percipio illas.*

Si bea il suo animo dinnanzi al paesaggio di New York, a tal punto da definirlo “casa del Sommo Dio”:

*Hic Dei Summi domus ipsa nobis  
Terra videtur.*

Seguono altri mirabili versi, pervasi da palpitante sensibilità, in cui il poeta, descrivendo il magico tepore ed il soave zefiro che avvincono le

<sup>5</sup> *The Classical Outlook*, February 1963, p. 61.

<sup>6</sup> *The Classical Outlook*, May-June 1981, p. 107.

selve di Eboraco, il canto d'amore degli uccelli e la dolcezza che permea quell'angolo di paradiso, crea un quadro d'incantevole visione e di particolare suggestività:

*Inclitae silvae magico tepore,  
Insulae leni zephyro tenentur;  
Ebrii vita, volucres docent nos  
Carmen amoris.  
Res nova manant pietate cunctae,  
Una dulcedo aethera et arva iungit:  
Si ista lux mortem specie profatur,  
Mors quoque pulchra est.*

Un altro grazioso quadro della natura è dal Tusiani schizzato nell'elegia *Memoria montis Gargani*<sup>7</sup>, dove egli rievoca l'amenità di un monte della sua terra natale.

I versi iniziali ci introducono in un mondo quasi fiabesco, in cui lo spirito affranto del poeta ritrova la sua totale serenità:

*Lauricomum nemus est in montis culmine amati  
Cuius in umbrifera pace dolor moritur.*

Più lì il Nostro riesce a captare la salutare fragranza degli zefiri, più egli guarisce tante piaghe del suo animo, diventando persino immemore di quell'amaro *exsilium* che un tempo lo allontanò dal *viride nemus*:

*Illic quotquot eunt horae tot vulnera sano,  
Immemor omnino caedis et exsilii.  
Sensus languor iners lenta dulcedine vincit  
Atque animam viridi forte ligat nemori.*

I versi rivelano, senza dubbio, una viva spontaneità, prodotta da sinceri stati d'animo.

Tusiani è anche il poeta che non tralascia le vicende della nostra società. Egli le scruta con occhio vigile e ne ricava riflessioni che sanno a volte di cupo realismo. Vale la pena di citare la poesia *In vehiculo subviario*<sup>8</sup>, in ottonari rimati. Qui il Nostro descrive attentamente quanto avviene ogni giorno per quella gente di New York, che è costretta, alle prime luci dell'alba, a viaggiare con la metropolitana

<sup>7</sup> *The Classical Outlook*, March-April 1983, p. 83.

<sup>8</sup> *The Classical Outlook*, March 1973, p. 76.

(*vehiculum subviarium*). Il poeta riesce ad esprimere gli atteggiamenti delle persone, chiuse come *miseræ sardinae* in un *mobile cubiculum*, con un verso, in cui il gioco allitterante delle parole e l'omeoteleuto sono particolarmente incisivi:

*mixtae, maestae, mutae, motae.*

Musicalissima, sul piano stilistico, è l'elencazione dei passeggeri *oscitantes*:

*mater, filius, filia, pater  
atque avunculus et frater.*

Segue un martellante interrogativo che avvolge il lettore in un alone di mistero e di tristezza nello stesso tempo:

*quare, quare, quare, quare?*

Perchè—osserva Tusiani—, se si vuole vivere, bisogna lavorare e lavorare? Perchè tanti sacrifici in questa nostra vita? È una presa di coscienza di una realtà che impone quesiti ai quali è difficile dare una risposta.

Si potrebbe andare avanti e citare ancora altre poesie tusiane, onde respirare *pectore pleno* quella fragranza che è solita esalare la Musa del Nostro poeta. Tuttavia, questa breve rassegna di motivi della poesia latina del Tusiani può essere sufficiente a mio avviso, oltre che a denotare la varietà degli argomenti, a rilevare come il poeta sia ben capace di esprimere immagini con un linguaggio incisivo ed alquanto raffinato e di cogliere nel suo colloquio con le Muse qualcosa di reale, a cui si può ancor'oggi credere su questa terra.

La poesia del Tusiani è viva sia negli U.S.A. che in Europa. Egli infatti, mediante la pubblicazione di tutte le sue Camene in prestigiose riviste, ha fatto sentire le sue aspirazioni, le sue gioie e le sue sofferenze, straordinariamente incastonate, come perle, nei suoi versi.

*Non omnis moriar* aveva scritto Orazio, affidandosi alla lode dei posteri; certamente *non omnis morietur* Tusiani: la sua poesia sarà una traiettoria luminosa, che spanderà chiara luce nelle generazioni future.

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## APPENDICULA: IOSEPHI TUSIANI CARMINA

*poetae sexagenario*

Iosephus Tusiani anno 1924 Sancti Marci in Lamis (in provincia Fodia) vitam introiit; paulo post bellicum furorem, in urbe Neapoli litterarum doctor renuntiatus, una cum matre in Americam Septentrionalem emigravit. Ibi usque ad annum 1983 litteras Italicas variis in studiorum universitatibus Neo-Eboracensibus docebat. Nec Latine tantum carmina pangebatur, sed etiam Anglice libros conscripsit, e.g. eos qui inscribuntur *The Complete Poems of Michelangelo*; Tasso, *Jerusalem Delivered* et *Creation of the World*; *The Age of Dante*; *Italian Poets of the Renaissance*; *From Marino to Marinetti*; fabulam Milesiam c.t. *Envoy from Heaven* (1965) et carminum libellos *Rind and All* (1962), *The Fifth Season* (1964), *Gente Mia and Other Poems* (1978), ut alios praeteream. Complura inde est praemia consecutus (anno 1956 *Greenwood Prize*, 1968 *Alice Fay di Castagnola Reward*, 1969 *Spirit Gold Medal*). Praeterea ad aliorum poetarum Latinorum poesin promovendam laborem impendit; itaque e.g. Laurentii Viscido poetae Italici (nunc Novi Eboraci degentis) carminum libello, qui *Poesis Refugium* inscribitur (Novi Eboraci, anno 1983), praefationem dedit.

Latine vero exaratorum poematum unus tantum adhuc libellus in vulgus est emissus (Novo Eboraco, anno 1955), qui *Melos Cordis* inscribitur. Cetera autem poematia, quae mihi innotuerunt, in variis divulgata commentariis, in album rettuli; ineditos etiam versiculos summam attigi; commentatiunculas denique, quae de poeta agebant, adumbravi.

## A. Carmina prelo edita vel sub prelo iacentia

1. *Latinitas (in civitate Vaticana)*:  
America felix (22, 1975, 258-9; est autem solutae orationis specimen, in actis quoque diurnis q.t. *Osservatore Romano* divulgatum die 22 mensis Novembris 1975).
2. *Vox Latina* (Saraviponti):  
Autumnus (17, 1981, 259).
3. *Palaestra Latina* (Barbastri):  
Epigrammata (quattuor) (33, 1963, 92); Tempus amandi (38, 1968, 78);  
Preces supremas (38, 1968, 78).
4. *Latina Lingua* (Paulae):  
De Venere ac deo fabella (1, 4, 1960, 69); Pro domo mea (2, 1, 1961, 33).
5. *Hermes Americanus* (Betheliae in America Septentrionali): sub prelo:

- Brahms (post eius 'Germanicae Reiquiei' auditionem); Per contraria; Praemonitus; Cogito ergo doleo; Exclusus; Rastrum rex.
6. *Vita Latina* (Avenione):  
 Coniugium implicitum (12, 1961, 111); De arte (12, 1961, 111); Munificentissime Domne Eduarde Aubanel! (13, 1961, 82); Pulvis et umbra (13, 1961, 83); Cantiuncula Saturnia (13, 1961, 84); Mensura (13, 1961, 84); Mentis fructus acerbus (13, 1961, 85); Differentia (13, 1961, 85); Ab intus (15, 1962, 68); Primo vere (16, 1962, 49-50).  
 sub prelo: Intrat annus MCMLXXXIV.
7. *Rumor varius* (Turici):  
 sub prelo: Intrat annus MCMLXXXIV; Et iam finis; Tristitia vespertina; Cantus matutinus; Pervigilium natalicium; Sodalitium autumnale; De fine aestatis.
8. *M.A.S.* (Pali):  
 Sol-Amen (7, 1984, 14); Nox serena (7, 1984, 15); Reditus (7, 1984, 17); Momenti spatio (7, 1984, 19).  
 sub prelo: Formido; Exhortatio autumnalis; Mons Garganus; Providens mater.
9. *The Classical Outlook* (Oxonii in America Septentrionali):  
 Praeceptum irritum (39, 1, 1962); Melancholici versus (40, 6, 1963); Contra poetam amoris (42, 8, 1965); Aenigmatis solutio (43, 6, 1966); Poema cyclicum (44, 9, 1967); Astronautica (47, 9, 1970); Vespere (48, 6, 1971); Exhortatio (49, 7, 1972); JFK (50, 3, 1972); In vehiculo subviario (51, 3, 1973); Epigrammata caudata (51, 1, 1973); Dilectio (51, 6, 1974); Nota hiemalis (52, 4, 1974); Libertatis statua (52, 9, 1975); Grata responsio (53, 3, 1975); Timor (54, 4, 1977); Spartacus moriens (54, 9, 1977); Rus Neo-Eboracense (54, 10, 1977); Conventus (58, 3, 1981); Vespere (58, 3, 1981); Autumnus Neo-Eboracensis (58, 4, 1981); Vivere optimum est (59, 4, 1982); Poesis (59, 4, 1982);  
 anno 1983: Haud logicus ardor; Meditatio silvana; Consilium; Memoria montis Garganei; Mariae W. Ricks; Idyllium Garganicum; Quinta via Novi Eboraci; Ruit hora; Ad multos annos; Graffiti; Mane.  
 sub prelo: Debitum; Ecce vir.
10. *Viva Camena. Latina huius aetatis carmina collecta et edita ab Iosepho Eberle* (...), Turici et Stuttgartiae, 1961:  
 De arte (135); Daunia lutea lux (135-6); Iam periere (136); Messoribus Dauniis (136-7); Una donatur (180). Quattuor carmina quae ultima leguntur ex libello c.t. *Melos Cordis* sunt descripta.
11. J. IJsewijn-Jacobs, *Latijnse poëzie van de twintigste eeuw*, (*De bladen voor de poëzie*), Lyrae, 1961:  
 De arte (28).
12. *Rosa Rosarum*:  
 Est carminum libellus, quorum magna pars sparsim est edita. Haec modo poematia nondum offendimus: Rosa rosarum; Doctrina verna; Tempore vincor ego; Templum desertum; Germinalia; Sputnika; Post nativitatem; Comparatio florealis. Hic libellus, qui 32 poematiis constat, anno 1984 sumptibus commentariorum q.t. *The Classical Outlook* foras datus est.

13. *In exilio rerum* (sub prelo):

Est carminum libellus, quorum maior pars sparsim typis excusa est. Hic libellus, qui 40 poematiis constat, hocce anno edetur.

## B. Carmina inedita

1. Iosepho IJsewijn (1960);
2. Tempus nivale (Iosepho IJsewijn) (1960);
3. Humanissime optimeque amice (Iosepho IJsewijn) (1961);
4. Antitheton (1961);
5. In amore fides (1961);
6. Epigramma (1961);
7. Theoderico Sacré, Iosephi IJsewijn discipulo (1983).

## C. Commentatiunculae selectae

1. (Anon.), "New Poems by Joseph Tusiani", *Italian Quarterly*, 24 (1983), 99.
2. Lucia Petracco Sovran, "Joseph Tusiani. A Living Latin Poet", *Classical Outlook*, 52 (1975), 109-10.
3. Lucia Petracco Sovran, "Il latino rivive nelle poesie—modernissime, di grande freschezza—di Joseph Tusiani. 'In vehiculum subviarum tamquam miserae sardinae'", *Il Progresso*, 5.12.1982.
4. J. IJsewijn-Jacobs, "Conspectus poetarum Latinorum saeculi vicesimi", *Euphrosyne*, 3 (1961), 158.
5. J. IJsewijn-Jacobs, "Latijnse poëzie", *o.c.*, pp. 10, 28, 43, 82-4.
6. J. IJsewijn, "Ad vivam Latinitatem pertinentes", *Vita Latina*, 12 (1961), 28.
7. "Viva Camena", *o.c.*, p. 219 (in commentariolo a Iosepho et Lina IJsewijn-Jacobs scripto).
8. *Rivista Attenzione*, feb. 1981.
9. *Classical Folia*, 10 (1956), 65-6.
10. J. Šprincl, art. Tusiani, *Lexicon auctorum Latinorum* (sub prelo in aedibus Odeon Pragensibus).
11. G. B. Beach in recensione *Vivae Camenae*, *Classical World*, 55 (1961), 138.
12. Lucia Petracco Sovran, *Joseph Tusiani poeta e traduttore. Presentazione di P. Tusciano* (Perusia, 1984).

Scripsi mense Ianuario 1984.

Dirk Sacré

Aspir. Navorsers N.F.W.O.

Hans VAN DE VENNE

CORNELIUS SCHONAEUS  
1541-1611  
A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HIS PRINTED WORKS  
II

- 17 TERENCE CHRISTIANUS SIVE COMOEDIAE DUAE [TOBAEUS, IUDITHA],  
PSEUDOSTRATIOTES.  
London, Robert Robinson for Robert Dexter, 1595.

*Collation :*

8° (29 ll., 117 × 72 mm. [B1<sup>r</sup>]): A-N<sup>8</sup> [\$4 signed (–A1)], 104 leaves,  
pp. 1-2 3-205 206-208 [misnumbering 61 as '57', 141 as '14', 156 as '16'].

*Contents :*

A1<sup>r</sup>: title. A1<sup>v</sup>: foreword [by the editor]: '*Ad Lectorem.*' On A1<sup>v</sup>:  
[TOBÆVS] ending on E8<sup>v</sup>: '*FINIS.*' F1<sup>r</sup>: '*IVDITHA.*' ending on  
K4<sup>v</sup>: '*FINIS.*' K5<sup>r</sup>: '*PSEVDOSTRA- | TIOTAE, FABVLA IO- | cofa,*  
*atque ludicra.*' ending on N7<sup>r</sup>: '*FINIS.*' and followed by an orn. N7<sup>v</sup>:  
blank. N8: missing (blank?).

*Notes :*

On account of the title *Terentius Christianus* and the wording on the title-page,  
it is beyond doubt that the text of the three plays of this edition has been set  
from a copy of the 1594 Haarlem-Heidelberg re-issue of the 1592 Haarlem sheets  
with a new title-gathering (see the notes to No. 16b above). We have to bear  
in mind, however, that alterations may have been made in the text of the plays  
by the English editor, whose name is not given.

When, in 1592, Schonaeus published, at Haarlem, his Latin farce on the two  
so-called soldiers, he gave it the Greek title *Pseudostratitotae* (see No. 16a above,  
title-page and page 348). However, on the title-page of all the thirteen editions  
which Schonaeus's *Terentius Christianus* (i.e. the biblical dramas *Tobaeus* and  
*Iuditha*) and the play *Pseudostratitotae* went through in England between 1595  
and 1691<sup>44</sup>, the plural form of the title of the farce has been changed into the  
singular, *Pseudostratitotes*, undoubtedly by the English editor.

According to Foster Watson the *Terentius Christianus* of Cornelius Schonaeus

<sup>44</sup> See Nos 28, 33, 37, 43, 47, 51, 57, 58, 75, 77, 86, and 90 below.



was 'the most famous collection of foreign plays used in English schools'<sup>45</sup>. That this particular edition, especially the two Bible plays, indeed was intended for use in the English schools, is explicitly stated on the title-page: 'Ad usum Scholarum seorsim [*sic*] excusae'. It can also be inferred from the address to the reader, where the editor says: 'Nam quae in hiis [*sic*] libris vel falsa vel dura vel impura videri possunt, ea piorum *praeceptorum* [my italics] prudentiae relinquo' (p. 2)<sup>46</sup>. See also the notes to No. 47 below.

The publisher's initials R. D. on the title-page stand for Robert Dexter (see also the title-page of No. 28 below where the name of Dexter is found in full in the imprint).

For the publisher's device on the title-page, see McKerrow, *Devices*, No. 260; cf. *ibid.*, p. 101.

*Copies:*

London, BL, 11712.a.16\* (N8 missing); Urbana (Ill.), UL, Baldwin 1195 (blank N8 is reported present and the numbering series of this copy seems not to be affected by errors except for page 156, misnumbered as '16').

**18a** TERENCE CHRISTIANUS, DUABUS COMOEDIIS ADDITIS.

Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1595.

*Collation:*

8° (31 ll., 126 × 73 mm. [2B7<sup>r</sup>]): †<sup>8</sup> A-H<sup>8</sup> I<sup>4</sup> K-M<sup>8</sup> N<sup>4</sup> O-R<sup>8</sup> S<sup>4</sup> T-2C<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (—†1,2,4, 13,4,5, N4,5, S2,3,4,5; †3 signed '†2', †3<sup>v</sup> signed '†3', M4 signed 'L4')], 204 leaves, pp. [16], 1 2-63 64 [*var*: misnumbering 2 as '1' (?), 3 as '2']; <sup>2</sup>1 2-71 72; <sup>3</sup>1 2-56; <sup>4</sup>1 2-70 71-72 [*var*: misnumbering 61 as '16']; <sup>5</sup>1 2-64 [misnumbering 53 as '55', (*var*: 55 as '35')]; <sup>6</sup>irreg. 1 2-32 17-46 47-48 [= 64] [misnumbering 28-9 as '26-7', 33-62 as '17-46', and, within this misnumbered sequence, 37 [= 53] as '21'].

*Contents:*

†1<sup>r</sup>: title. †1<sup>v</sup>: commendatory poem: 'IN PVBLII COMOEDIE= | DIAS TERFNTII [*sic*], TOTIDEM- | que CORNELI [*sic*] SCHONAEI Dramata ad | ANNAM PALANTIAM ET CAMILLAM | Iambici extemporales Karoli |

<sup>45</sup> Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660: Their Curriculum and Practice* (Cambridge, 1908; reprint [London], 1968), p. 322.

<sup>46</sup> For this editor's address to the reader, in which he gives, *inter alia*, his view of the aim which Schonaeus had in mind with his plays ('ut pueritia unà cum orationis elegantia, morum quoque sanctitatem et probitatem imbiberet') and his own reason for selecting plays from the Apocrypha, see also Lily B. Campbell, *Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1959; reprint Cambridge - Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1961), pp. 164-65.

Vtenhovij Neochthonis.' (15 ll. 'V<sup>2</sup> *Vlgus profani Fabulas TERENCE*). †2<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'Ex eiusdem Vtenhovij *Allusionum Libro 3. | ad eandem virgines. | CORNELIVS SCHONEVS | GOVDANVS. | Harlemensis Lycei Gymnasiarcha.*' (8 ll. [around the word 'Allusio'] 'CORNELI fat notus honos, fat fama SCHONEI,') followed by a line in Greek, Utenhovius's name forming part of it. †2<sup>v</sup>: dedicatory letter: 'SERENISSIMIS DD. | COMITIBVS PAL. RHE- | NI, SVPERIORIS INFERIORISQVE | *Bauariae Ducibus Reuerendissimo PHILIPPO, | Episcopo Ratisbon. Præposito Metrop. Colon. | ac Ferdinando Præposito Argent. & c. | Fratribus Principibus lectis- | simis felicitatem, | P.*', dated on †7<sup>v</sup>: 'Agrippinae Colo- | niae. Anno reſtauratae ſalutis, ſupra mille | quingentos, nonageſimo primo, Calen- | das [*sic*] Inlij [*sic*].' and signed 'Sereniſs. Cellitud. VV. | Cnrnelius [*sic*] Loofæus | Callidius'. †8<sup>r</sup>: commendatory poem: 'IN TERENCEVM CHRIS- | tianum Iacobi Lom Ruræ- | mundaui [*sic*].' (14 ll. 'Q<sup>2</sup> *Valiter infano Iuuenis laſciuius amore*'). †8<sup>v</sup>: 'SVMMA PRIVILEGII.' [extract from the privilege granted by the emperor to Gerard Grevenbruch for a period of six years] dated 'Dato Pragæ. Anno | Domini. M. D. XCV. I. Aprilis.' and signed 'Rudolphus. | Iacobus Curtius à | Senfftenau | Ad mandatum Sacrae | Cæſ. Maieſt. proprium | Io. Baruitius.' A1<sup>r</sup>-S4<sup>r</sup>: the same as in No. 15 above. T1<sup>r</sup>: [orn.] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI. | IOSEPHVS.' ending on Y8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' Z1<sup>r</sup>: [orn.] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI. | IVDITHA.' ending on 2C7<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' 2C8: blank.

*Notes:*

Sheets T-2C (i.e. the plays *Iosephus* and *Iuditha*) appear to have been set from a copy of the 1592 Haarlem edition (= No. 16a) or the 1594 Haarlem-Heidelberg re-issue of these sheets with a reset title-leaf gathering (see the notes to No. 16b above).

When the editors (see the notes to No. 14 above) and the printer had acquired a copy of this Haarlem edition, containing six instead of four biblical dramas and thus being no longer a 'mutilus, et imperfectus Terentius Christianus' (see the notes to No. 16b above), they felt obliged, of course, to also bring out an edition of six plays. So a first 'complete' Cologne edition was published. It was composed of the old 1592 Cologne sheets (A-S; = No. 15) bound with a last section (i.e. the plays *Iosephus* and *Iuditha*) printed for the first time in 1595 on sheets T-2C, the whole with a new title-leaf gathering to bring the book up to date.

On the title-page of various copies there is a slight shift in the position of the comma after the word 'CHRISTIANVS', presumably because in the course of printing some loosening had taken place here in the type-page by the pressure of the press.

I have been unable to trace the poem referred to on sig. †2<sup>r</sup> which Charles Utenhove had dedicated to Schonaeus in the third book of his *Allusiones*.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 209.

*Copies :*

Leningrad, BAH,  $\frac{759.0}{4079}$ ; Leningrad, PB, 6.VI.5.90 (this copy was available to me in the form of microfilm; F8, G1, S4, and 2C1.8, however, are missing).

Other copies, containing the same title-leaf gathering as described here but otherwise composed of the same gatherings A-2A as described in No. 20 below, are present in Leipzig, UB, Poet.lat.rec. 436\*; Melk, Stift, 37957; St Lambrecht, Stift, XLII B g 8; The Hague, KB, 1713 D 21\* (blank D8 missing; page number 80 of the play *Tobaeus* has been corrected into '10' by a later hand, which numbered the following page as '11'); and Wrocław, BU, 456743.

As far as these five last-mentioned copies are concerned, the facts would seem to indicate, although there is no unequivocal evidence, that sheets A-2A were not printed in this year but in 1596. However, to take advantage of some old remaining sheets †, printed in 1595, the printer sold some copies composed of the original sheets of 1596 (see the notes to No. 20 below) combined with the old title-leaf gathering of 1595.

The quarter-sheet χ, i.e. the conjugate pair of the errata leaf and the following blank leaf (see No. 20 below), is not to be found in any of the copies examined.

- 18b** TERENCE CHRISTIANUS, DUABUS COMOEDIIS AUCTUS.  
Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1595.

*Another issue.*

*Collation :*

8° (31 ll., 126 × 73 mm. [2B7<sup>r</sup>]): †<sup>8</sup> A-H<sup>8</sup> I<sup>4</sup> K-M<sup>8</sup> N<sup>4</sup> O-R<sup>8</sup> S<sup>4</sup> T-2C<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (— †1,2,4, I3,4,5, N4,5, S2,3,4,5; M4 signed 'L4')], 204 leaves, pp. [16], 1 2-63 64 [var: misnumbering 2 as '1' (?), 3 as '2']; <sup>2</sup>1 2-71 72; <sup>3</sup>1 2-56; <sup>4</sup>1 2-70 71-72 [var: misnumbering 61 as '16']; <sup>5</sup>1 2-64 [misnumbering 53 as '55', (var: 55 as '35')]; <sup>6</sup>irreg. 1 2-32 17-46 47-48 [= 64] [misnumbering 28-9 as '26-7', 33-62 as '17-46', and, within this misnumbered sequence, 37 [= 53] as '21'].

*Contents :*

†1<sup>r</sup>: title. †1<sup>v</sup>: 'SVMMA PRIVILEGII.' [extract from the privilege granted by the emperor to Gerard Grevenbruch for a period of six years] dated 'Dato Pragæ. Anno Domini. | M. D. XCV. I. Aprilis.' and signed 'Rudolphus. | Io: W. Freimondt. | Ad mandatum Sacræ | Cæf. Maieft.

proprium | Io. Baruitius.' †2<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory letter: 'SERENISSIMIS DD. | COMITIBVS PAL. RHE- | NI, SVPERIORIS INFERIORISQVE | Bauariae Ducibus Reuerendiſſimo PHILIPPO, | Epifcopo Ratisbon. Præpoſito Metrop. Colon. | ac Ferdinando Præpoſito Argent. &c. | Fratribus Principibus lectif- | ſimis felicitatem, | P.', dated on †7<sup>r</sup>: 'Agrippinae Colo- | niæ. Anno reſtauratae ſalutis, ſupra mille | quingentos, nonageſimo primo, Calen- | dis Iulij.' and ſigned 'Sereniſs. Cellſitud. VV. | Cornelius Loofæus | Callidius'. †7<sup>v</sup>: commendatory poem: 'IN PVBLII COMOEE = | DIAS TERENTII, TOTIDEM- | que CORNELI SCHONEI Dramata ad | ANNAM PALANTIAM ET CAMILLAM | Iambici extemporales Karoli Vten- | hovij Karolo fati Vtenhouio, | Neochthonis.' (21 ll. 'V<sup>2</sup>ulgus profani Fabulas TERENTII'). †8<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'Ex eiufdem Vtenhouij Alluſionum lib. 3 | CORNELIVS SCHONEVS GOV- | danus. Harlemoniſis Lycei | Gymnaſiarcha.' (8 ll. [around the word 'Alluſio'] 'CORNELI ſat notus honos, ſat fama SCHONEI,') followed by a line in Greek, Utenhovius's name forming part of it, and the ſentence 'Dictante Karolo Anna ab Vtenhouia | ſcribebat Vtenhouio.' †8<sup>v</sup>: commendatory poem: 'IN TERENTIVM CHRIS- | tianum Iacobi Lommij | Ruræmundani.' (14 ll. 'Q<sup>2</sup>Valiter infano Iuvenis laſcivius amore') followed by another commendatory poem: 'ALIVD EIVSDEM.' (4 ll. 'Induerat corpus Latiali veſte Menandri'). A1<sup>r</sup>-2C8<sup>v</sup>: the ſame as in No. 18a above.

#### Notes:

In the title-gathering, we find the dedication re-impreſſed from the identical type-settings (ſee No. 18a above) without substantive change except for a fair number of corrections and ſome reſettings. What reſetting there is ſeems largely calculated to reſtore type-pages pied in the handling, when being re-impoſed in a new arrangement, or accidentally diſtributed.

For a note on ſheets A-S and T-2C, ſee the notes to No. 18a above.

In comparison with No. 18a above (ſig. †1<sup>v</sup>) Charles Utenhove's poem, to Anna Paland and Camilla Morel, has been changed in places and is ſix lines longer (ſig. †7<sup>v</sup>).

I have been unable to trace the poem referred to on ſig. †8<sup>r</sup> which Charles Utenhove had dedicated to Schonaeus in the third book of his *Alluſiones*.

For the printer's device on the title-page, ſee Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 209.

#### Copy:

Washington, D.C., Folger, PA 8577 S23 A3 1595 Cage (this copy was available to me in the form of microfilm).

## 19 DANIEL.

Haarlem, Gillis Rooman, 1596.

*Collation:*

8° (28 ll., 113 × 70 mm. [B8<sup>r</sup>]): A-C<sup>8</sup> D<sup>4</sup> [\$5 signed (– A1, D3,4,5)], 28 leaves, pp. 1-2 3-55 56 [misnumbering 54 as '40'].

*Contents:*

A1: title (verso blank). A2<sup>r</sup>: commendatory poem: [orn.] | 'GVLIELMI ASSENDELPHII | EPIGRAMMA, IN COMMEN- | dationem auctoris.' (16 ll. 'A<sup>5</sup> [init.] *Ttulit ingenium Sophocli letabile funus,*'). A2<sup>v</sup>: commendatory poem: 'PETRI CARPENTERII | ACROSTICHIS.' (8 ll. 'S<sup>2</sup> *Chonæo dignos omnes præstemus honores,*') followed by two dedicatory poems: || 'GVLIELMI A VVOV HARLEMEN- | SIS I. V.L. TETRASTICHON.' (4 ll. 'S<sup>2</sup> *Chonæum genuit mortalis Gouda poëtam*') and 'ALIVD DISTICHON EIVSDEM.' (2 ll. 'P<sup>2</sup> *Vlchrum nomen habet Schonæus, pulchrius apt hoc,*'). A3<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory poem: [orn.] | 'THEODORI SCREVELII HARLE- | MENSIS ACROSTICHIS.' (8 ll. 'S<sup>2</sup> *Chonæum cumulos laudum miraris apīci?*') followed by an orn. A3<sup>v</sup>: dedicatory letter: 'HONORATO, LAV= | DATOQVE VIRO GERARDO | FRANCISCO KEGELINGO, GOV- | DANAE CIVITATIS CONSVLI, DOMI- | *no fuo colendo, Cornelius Schonæus S. D.*', dated on A4<sup>r</sup>: 'Harle- | mi, ipfis Calendis Ianuarij, Anno. 1596.' and signed '*Dignitati tuæ addictissimus,* | CORNELIVS SCHONAEVS.' A4<sup>v</sup>: text of the play, ending on D4<sup>r</sup>: '*FINIS.*' and followed by Schonaeus's *symbolum*: 'Nullum simulatum diuturnum.' and an orn. D4<sup>v</sup>: blank.

*Notes:*

In his dedicatory letter of 1 January 1596 to the Gouda burgomaster Gerrit Fransz. Kegelingh, Schonaeus informs us that he had written within a few days a sacred comedy, *Daniel*, which he dedicated to Kegelingh (p. 7). He had written the play in spite of the advice of certain friends to refrain from writing more plays than the six he had composed so far in order not to exceed the number of Terence's plays and thus to avoid problems with respect to the magnificent title (viz. *Terentius Christianus*) which was now attached to his plays<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> The passage referred to in the dedicatory epistle reads: '... suadebant amici quidam, ut eo honore [i.e. Terentii Christiani titulo] contentus, ab hoc scripti genere temperarem in posterum: ne, si plures [comoediae] quàm sex à nobis editae essent, numerum Terentianarum fabularum excessisse viderentur: quo futurum esset, ut specioso illo nomine lectoribus minùs aptè commendari possent' (p. 6).

Here again (see the notes to No. 14 above) he stresses the fact that the 'præclarus, atque magnificus Terentii Christiani titulus' had been attributed to him without his knowledge ('inscio me', 'ignorante me': p. 6).

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Laceulle-Van de Kerk, p. 412, No. 149. Cf. also Briels, p. 422. For the headpieces on pp. 3 and 5, see Laceulle-Van de Kerk, p. 402, No. 118 and p. 404, No. 129; for the tail-piece on pp. 5 and 55, see *ibid.*, p. 403, No. 120 and cf. Briels, p. 78, Pl. 16. For the latter ornament, see also the title-page of No. 16b above.

### *Copies :*

Augsburg, SStB, NL 207\*; Leuven, BTF, 39 B RESC MIN 1592 (4)\*; Paris, Arsenal, Re 15437; Paris, BN, Rés. p. Yc. 1228 (2)\*; Vienna, ÖNB, 78.W.68.

## 20 TERENCE CHRISTIANUS SEU COMOEDIAE SACRAE SEX.

Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1596.

### *Collation :*

8° (31 ll., 127 × 69 mm. [S8<sup>v</sup>]): †-2†<sup>8</sup> A-G<sup>8</sup> H<sup>10</sup> I-L<sup>8</sup> M<sup>4</sup> N-2A<sup>8</sup> χ<sup>2</sup> [\$5 signed (+H6,7; -†1, D3, E4, K4, M4,5; T4 signed 'F4')], 208 leaves, pp. [32], 1 2-61 62-64 [misnumbering 60 as '61']; <sup>2</sup>1 2-10 11 12-68 [misnumbering 10 as '80', 16 as '19']; <sup>3</sup>1 2-56 [misnumbering 49 as '94']; <sup>4</sup>1 2-64; <sup>5</sup>1 2-63 64 [*var.*: misnumbering 35 as '55'; *var.*: p. 4 unnumbered]; <sup>6</sup>1 2-62 63-64 [misnumbering 40 as '49']; [4].

### *Contents :*

†1<sup>r</sup>: title. †1<sup>v</sup>: 'SVMMA PRIVILEGII.' [extract from the privilege granted by the emperor to Gerard Grevenbruch for a period of six years] dated 'Dato Pragæ. Anno | Domini M.D.XCV. I. Aprilis.' and signed 'Rudolphus. | Io: W. Freimondt. | *Ad mandatum Sacre Cæs. Maieft. | proprium. | Io.Baruitius.*' †2<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory letter: 'SERENISSIMIS D. D. | COMITIBVS PAL. RHENI, | SVPERIORIS INFERIORISQVE | BAVARIAE DVCIBVS, REVERENDISS. | Philippo, Episcopo Ratisbon. Præpo- | fito Metrop. Colon. ac Ferdinando | Præposito Argent. &c. Fratribus | Principibus lectissimis | felicitatem P.', dated on †6<sup>r</sup>: 'Agrippinæ Coloniae. Anno instauratæ salutis, | supra mille quingentos, nonagesimo primo. Calendis | Iulij.' and signed 'Serenifis. Celsitud. VV. | Cornelius Loofæus,'. †6<sup>v</sup>: foreword [by Cornelius Loosaeus Callidius]: 'PRÆFATIO. | CANDIDO LECTORI, PVRITATIS | & elegantia Latini sermonis studiofo: & in primis | Gymnasiarchis, Rectoribus, Didascalis, | cæterisq, studiosæ pubis For- | matoribus S.' ending on 2†6<sup>v</sup> and followed by a commendatory poem:

'OCTASTICHON FRID. HVL- | SII DARTHENI, IN CASTAM | Terentij renati linguam.' (8 ll. 'B<sup>2</sup>*Is genitum quis te non dixerit 'esse Terenti'?*'). 2†7<sup>r</sup>: commendatory poem: 'HEXASTICHON HADRIANI IVNII, | SVB PERSONA AVCTORIS | Terentium exprimentis.' (6 ll. '*Dum flores nitidi paßim delibo Terenti:*') followed by three dedicatory poems: 'EIVSDEM ACROSTICHIS AD | auctorem, in laudem patriæ.' (9 ll. '*G ouden auro potior, referens & nomen ab auro,*'), 'DE CORNELIO SCONAEO GVLIEL- | mi a wou Tetraftichon.' (4 ll. '*Schonæum genuit mortalis Gouda poëtam*'), and 'Distichon eiusdem.' (2 ll. '*Pulchrum nomen habet Schonæus: pulchrius afit hoc*'). 2†7<sup>v</sup>: commendatory poem: 'IN TERENCEM CHRISTIA- | num Iacobi Lom, Ruræ- | mundani.' (14 ll. 'Q<sup>2</sup>*Valiter infano Iuuenis lascivius amore*') followed by two other commendatory poems: 'ALIVD EIVSDEM.' (4 ll. '*Induerat corpus Latiali veste Menandri*') and 'TETRASTICHON C. LOOS IN | Terentij renouati pietatem.' (4 ll. '*Æthiopis pellis cum fit tibi adempta Terenti,*'). 2†8<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'E KAROLI VTENHOVII | Allusionum lib. 3' (8 ll. [around the word 'Allusio'] '*CORNELI fat notus honos, fat fama SCHONEI,*') followed by another dedicatory poem: 'SIMONIS AGGERII HARLEMENSIS AD COR- | nelium Schonæum amicum suum familiarem. | Dimetri' (40 ll. 'N<sup>2</sup>*Omen tibi ex re contigit*') ending on 2†8<sup>v</sup>. A1<sup>r</sup>: [double band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI, | NAAMAN.' ending on D7<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' D7<sup>v</sup>-D8<sup>v</sup>: blank. E1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI, | TOBAEVVS.' ending on H10<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' I1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI, | NEHEMIAS.' ending on M4<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by an orn. N1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI, | SAVLVS.' ending on Q8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' R1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI, | IOSEPHVS.' ending on V8<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' V8<sup>v</sup>: blank. X1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI, | IVDITHA.' ending on 2A7<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' 2A8: blank. χ1<sup>r</sup>: '*Er rata [sic] quædam in hoc libro irrepferunt quæ sic sunt corrigenda.*' [errata listed between sig. A4<sup>v</sup> and sig. Z5<sup>r</sup>]. χ1<sup>v</sup>-χ2<sup>v</sup>: blank.

#### Notes:

The text of the six plays of this 1596 Cologne edition appears to have been set from a copy of the 1591 and, perhaps, 1592 Cologne editions (= Nos 14 and 15)<sup>48</sup>, and from a copy of the 1592 Haarlem edition (= No. 16a) or (more

<sup>48</sup> Only a very small part of this 1596 Cologne edition, viz. pp. 1-32 and 35-49 of the play *Naaman*, pp. 1-36 of the play *Tobæus*, and pp. 1-4 of the play *Nehemias*, seems to be a paginal resetting from the 1591 Cologne edition (= No. 14); see, however, the notes to No. 15 above.

likely) the 1594 Haarlem-Heidelberg re-issue of these 1592 sheets with a reset title-gathering (see the notes to No. 16b above). The latter copy, however, very probably had been annotated by the author himself, in order to be used by the Cologne printer as copy-text in setting his texts for a new edition of the plays (see below).

In this 1596 Cologne edition we see on the one hand that the editors (see the notes to No. 14 above) followed more closely the author's text of the plays than they had done before in 1591 and 1592 when editing the four oldest biblical dramas by Schonaeus<sup>49</sup>; but on the other hand, we find in comparison with the 1592 Haarlem edition a number of alterations and additions made to the text of the plays, which cannot be found in previous editions but which re-appear in the 1598 edition (= No. 22) published by the author at Antwerp and representing what he wrote, or (on reflection) re-wrote.

As there are also intentional alterations in the heading, text, and punctuation of the dedicatory poems by Willem van Wou as well as in the dedicatory poem by Simon Aggerius, appearing in the preliminaries of this edition on sigs 2†7<sup>r</sup> and 2†8<sup>r-v</sup>, I think it highly probable that it was Schonaeus who sent this revised version of the poems to the printer at Cologne together with a corrected copy of the 1592 Haarlem edition or the 1594 re-issue of these sheets and some major textual revisions, showing how he wanted the texts of the laudatory poems and plays to stand<sup>50</sup>.

Considering the foregoing and the fact that, unless contrary evidence is forthcoming, the poems by Willem van Wou were published for the first time (early) in 1596, it would seem more probable to me that sheets A-2A were also printed in 1596 than in 1595 (see also the list of traced copies in No. 18a above).

When Schonaeus, in spite of all his efforts, had to accept the fact that also in this 1596 Cologne edition the editors had persisted in their refusal to have the text of his first four plays printed integrally without expurgations, he made a virtue of necessity and prepared himself a new edition of his six biblical dramas which he asked Jan Moretus to print at Antwerp in 1598 (see also the notes to No. 22 below).

I have been unable to trace the poem referred to on sig. 2†8<sup>r</sup> which Charles Utenhove had dedicated to Schonaeus in the third book of his *Allusiones*.

The errata leaf which has been added by the printer to the text of the plays

<sup>49</sup> In addition to the strong protests which Schonaeus made to the editors of the Cologne editions because of the many alterations (in his view deteriorations) they had made in the text of his plays (see the notes to No. 14 above), it may also have been the presence of the rival 1594 Haarlem-Heidelberg re-issue of the 1592 Haarlem sheets on the German market which forced the editors to cancel many of their own alterations in favour of the author's readings.

<sup>50</sup> The poems by Willem van Wou appeared for the first time, as far as I can ascertain, prefixed to the play *Daniel* (= No. 19, p. 4) which presumably was printed at Haarlem early in 1596. The poem by Simon Aggerius (Van Dijck or Vanden Dyke?), on the other hand, can be found already in the 1592 Haarlem edition (= No. 16a), where it is prefixed to the farce *Pseudostratitotae* (pp. 348-49).



has survived in only a few copies (see the list of copies below; unless otherwise noted, the errata leaf is missing in the checked copies).

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 209.

*Copies :*

Augsburg, SSStB, NL 996\* (H5,6 missing but supplied in manuscript; errata leaf preserved but blank  $\chi$ 2 missing); Berlin (GDR), UB, Xe 31310; Cambridge, UL, Rel.e.59.3\* (C3, Z4,5 and blank 2A8 missing; the copy is cropped with the loss of some signatures); Coburg, LB, Cas A 4723; Cologne, EDDb, 1965.106\*; Edinburgh, NL, D.N.S.118\* (blank D8 missing); Gdańsk, PAN, Cf 8768 8°; Graz, UB, I 36.978; Güssing, OFM, 8/115 (in this copy the errata leaf and blank  $\chi$ 2 are reported present); Heidelberg, UB, D 8580<sup>2</sup>\* (title-leaf and blank 2A8 missing); Leningrad, BAH, <sup>11269.0</sup>/<sub>3964.R.</sub>; Lisbon, Ajuda, 71-II-12; Olomouc, SVK, 24.972 and 28.023 (in this copy the errata leaf and blank  $\chi$ 2 are reported present); Oxford, Wadham, Y 5; Rehburg-Loecum, Kloster, Lit. 3010\* (H5,6 missing); Toruń, BP, 109320 D 8° 105 (title-leaf damaged); Washington, D.C., Folger, PA 8577 S23 A3 1596 Cage (blank 2A8 missing); Wrocław, BU, 456332.

21 DUAE FABULAE IOCOSAE ATQUE LUDICRAE: CUNAE ET VITULUS.

Haarlem, [Gillis Rومان], 1596, 8°?

*Notes :*

The existence of this edition is proved by an entry in the treasurer's accounts in the Haarlem municipal archives. According to this entry Schonaeus was rewarded, in 1596, for the dedication of two Latin 'fabule ludicre' [*sic*] with the sum of twelve pounds ['xij £']<sup>51</sup>.

This gratuity makes it highly probable that Schonaeus had dedicated the plays to the Haarlem town council.

In a copy of the 1592 Haarlem edition of Schonaeus's plays, elegies, and epigrams (= No. 16a), from the collection of Jacob Buyck (preserved in Amsterdam, UB-GU, 499 G 22), there is a contemporary manuscript note on the verso of the flyleaf facing the title-page, stating that the names of the two farces, printed at Haarlem in 1596, were *Cunae* and *Vitulus* ['Item (i.e. Extant et eiufdem Schonæi) duæ fabulæ iocoſæ, Cunæ et Vitulus: impreßæ Harleми. i596'].

There can be no doubt that the book came from the press of Gillis Rومان, since he was the only printer who was active in Haarlem in 1596<sup>52</sup>.

I know of no extant copy of this edition.

<sup>51</sup> GA Haarlem, Kast 19, Nr. 176, Thes. rek. 1596, f. 77'. From the surrounding entries it can be inferred that Schonaeus was granted this amount in the autumn of 1596.

<sup>52</sup> See Laceulle-Van de Kerk, p. 248, No. 97; cf. Moes-Burger, IV, pp. 211-12.

## 22 TERENCE CHRISTIANUS SEU COMOEDIAE SACRAE SEX.

Antwerp, Jan Moretus, 1598.

*Collation :*

8° (35 ll., 141 × 78 mm. [B6<sup>v</sup>]): A-Y<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (– A1, F5)], 176 leaves, pp. 1-2 3-344 345-352 [misnumbering 205 as '105', 243 as '443', 293 as '393'].

*Contents :*

A1: title (verso blank). A2<sup>r</sup>: preface: 'CANDIDO, HVMANOQVE | LECTORI | CORNELIVS SCHONÆVS S. P.', dated on A4<sup>r</sup>: 'Harl. iv. Kal. Ianua. cio. id. xcv.' A4<sup>v</sup>: commendatory poem: 'GVLIELMI ASSENDELPHII | EPIGRAMMA.' (16 ll. 'A<sup>2</sup>TVLIT *ingenium Sophocli lætabile funus*,') followed by another commendatory poem: 'HADRIANI IVNII | HEXASTICON SVB | PERSONA AVCTORIS.' (6 ll. 'D<sup>2</sup>VM flores nitidi passim delibo Terenti,'). A5<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'EIVSDEM ACROSTICHIS | AD AVCTOREM | IN LAVDEM PATRIÆ.' (9 ll. 'G OVDA auro potior, referens & nomen ab auro,') followed by another dedicatory poem: 'SIMONIS AGGERII | HARLEMENSIS | AD CORNELIVM SCHONÆVM | DIMETRI.' (40 ll. in 2 cols of 20 ll. each 'N<sup>2</sup>OMEN *tibi ex re contigit*'). On A5<sup>v</sup>: commendatory poem: 'OCTASTICHON | FRID. HVLSII DARTHENI | IN CASTAM TERENCE | RENATI LINGVAM.' (8 ll. 'B<sup>2</sup>Is genitum quis te non dixerit effe Terenti?') followed by another commendatory poem: 'IN TERENCE CHRISTIANVM | IACOBI LOM. RVRAEMVNDANI.' (14 ll. 'Q<sup>2</sup>VALITER *infano iuvenis lafcivus amore*'). On A6<sup>r</sup>: commendatory poem: 'TETRASTICHON | COR. LOOSÆI, IN TERENCE | RENOVATI PIETATEM.' (4 ll. 'A<sup>2</sup>Ethiopis pellis cū fit tibi adempta Terenti,') followed by another commendatory poem: 'EIVSDEM EPIGRAMMA.' (10 ll. 'S<sup>2</sup>I *quem vana iuvat Latiae facundia linguæ*,'). A6<sup>v</sup>: 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | TOBAEVS.' ending on E5<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' E5<sup>v</sup>: 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | NEHEMIAS.' ending on H5<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' H5<sup>v</sup>: 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | SAVLVVS.' ending on M2<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' M2<sup>v</sup>: 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | NAAMAN.', introduced by a dedicatory poem: 'HADRIANI IVNII | EPIGRAMMA, | IN ARGVMENTVM COMOEDIÆ.' (26 ll. 'FOEDA lues lepræ squamis obsederat albis'; M2<sup>v</sup>-M3<sup>r</sup>) and ending on P5<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' P6<sup>r</sup>: 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | IOSEPHVS.' ending on T2<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' T2<sup>v</sup>: 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | IVDITHA.' ending on Y4<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.'

Y5<sup>r</sup>: 'ERRATA.' [errata listed between p. 18 (sig. B1<sup>v</sup>) and p. 277 (sig. S3<sup>r</sup>)] followed by the 'APPROBATIO.', dated 'Datum Antverpiæ, 19. Augufti. 1597.' and signed 'Silvefter Pardo, S. Theolog. Licentiatuſ, | Cathedr. Eccleſ. Antverp. Canonicuſ, | librorumq̃ Cenſor.' Y5<sup>v</sup>: 'SVMMA PRIVILEGII REGII.' [extract from the privilege granted by the king to Jan Moretus] dated 'Datis Bruxellæ 16. | Maij, 1591.' and signed 'Signat. | S. De Grimaldi. | Et in Conſilio Brabantie, | I. De Buſchere.' Y6<sup>r</sup>: colophon: 'ANTVERPIÆ, | EX OFFICINA PLANTINIANA, | APVD IOANNEM MORETVM, | M. D. XCVIII.' Y6<sup>v</sup>: printer's device. Y7<sup>r</sup>-Y8<sup>v</sup>: blank.

*Notes :*

In his preface to the reader, the author informs uſ that he waſ conſiderably annoyed to learn, from copieſ imported from Germany, that the comedieſ he had written in former yearſ had been edited there, without hiſ knowledge, under the ſpeciouſ title *Terentiuſ Chriſtianuſ*<sup>53</sup>. Even worſe waſ the fact that ſo many alterationſ, in hiſ view deteriorationſ, had been made in the text of hiſ playſ by the editorſ<sup>54</sup>.

For thiſ reaſon he felt it neceſſary to prepare a new edition of the playſ which he wanted to be printed in the moſt famous printing houſe of thoſe dayſ, the *Officina Plantiniana* at Antwerp, now under the direction of Jan Moretuſ.

A ſpecial problem, however, aroſe aſ to whether the title *Terentiuſ Chriſtianuſ* ſhould be maintained or not. It waſ only after a long heſitation that he decided to retain the title, although it had been given to the playſ without hiſ knowledge and againſt hiſ will, mainly to influence public ſale<sup>55</sup>.

Aſ regardſ the year in which the preface to the reader waſ written, I do not know whether there may have been ſpecial reaſonſ for giving the date aſ 29 December 1594, but aſ far aſ I can ſee now, it would ſeem the moſt reaſonable aſſumption that we are here dealing with a printer's error, the correct date being preſumably 29 December 1597<sup>56</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> See eſp. pp. 5-7. Cf. alſo the *Daniel* of 1596 (= No. 19), where he giveſ uſ roughly the ſame information in hiſ dedication to Gerrit Franz. Kegelinh (p. 6), and the noteſ to No. 14 above.

There can be little doubt that the 1591 and 1592 Cologne editionſ of the four oldeſt playſ by Schonaeuſ (= Noſ 14 and 15) are referred to here.

<sup>54</sup> Unfortunately he doeſ not give uſ the nameſ of theſe editorſ. He only callſ them 'quidam' and 'ii, quoauctoreſ illiuſ facti eſſe conſtabat' (p. 5), whereaſ in the dedication of hiſ *Comoediarum altera pars* of 1599 (= No. 25) to the Haarlem burgomaſterſ and magiſtrateſ he ſpeakſ of 'in Germaniã eruditi quidam' (p. 4). See alſo the noteſ to No. 14 above.

<sup>55</sup> See, however, No. 16b above, where the title *Terentiuſ Chriſtianuſ* appearſ on the title-page, and thiſ time, moreover, at the author's initiative or at leaſt with hiſ conſent. Cf. the noteſ to No. 16b above.

<sup>56</sup> In my opinion it iſ hard to ſee why Schonaeuſ ſo ſoon after having put on the market, preſumably in the late autumn of 1594 (ſee the date of 7 September of the

The edition is listed in a Plantin book catalogue under the heading 'Ex Officina Plantiniana. M.D.XCVIII.' as: 'Terentius CHristianus seu Comedię Sacrę sex Terentiano stylo à Cornelio Schonęo Goudano conscriptę. nunc emendatę et recognitę 8°. [feuilles] 22./ [price:] st[ivers] 10'<sup>57</sup>.

In one copy of the printed 1596 catalogue of books issued by the Plantin Press (see the notes to No. 2 above), preserved in the Plantin-Moretus Museum at Antwerp under shelf-mark R 55.21 and containing manuscript additions, this 1598 Antwerp edition is mentioned in manuscript on the interleaved page facing sig. A5<sup>r</sup> as: 'Terentius CHristianus Corn. Schonei 98 8° [price:] st[ivers] 10'.

The same information in the same hand can be found on the verso of the twenty-fifth leaf (when counting onwards in this copy from the last printed leaf B3) with the heading 'Libri noui Plantinianę editionis post Catalogum impreßum' as: 'Terentius CHristianus Comedię Sacrę Schonei 8° [price:] st[ivers] 10'.

In this same copy there is an inserted loose leaf, on the recto of which under the heading 'Librij Noui Plantinianę editionis post Catalogum impressum' in a different hand a third reference is made to this 1598 edition as: 'Terentius CHristianus Comedię Sacrę Schonei 8°'.

In the printed 1615 catalogue of books issued by the Plantin Press, the *Index librorum qui ex typographia Plantiniana prodierunt* (Antwerp, 1615), the edition is listed on page 62 as: 'TERENTIVS CHRISTIANVS, seu Comoedię sacre sex, Terentiano stylo à CORNELIO SCHONAEIO Goudano conscriptę, in 8°' and the lack of an asterisk before the title indicates, as can be deduced from the address to the reader on sig. A2<sup>r</sup>, that in this year a number of copies was still in stock in the storerooms at Antwerp<sup>58</sup>.

As far as the price of the book is concerned, in three Plantin-Moretus Museum copies (shelf-marks: R 19.21, R 19.22, and R 55.22) of the printed 1615 book catalogue the price is added by hand, viz. 'st[ivers] 10'.

printer's, i.e. author's, address to the reader in this re-issue: No. 16b, p. 2), the unsold stock of the copies of the 1592 Haarlem edition (= No. 16a), proposed to have Moretus print a new edition of the six biblical dramas at Antwerp. This is particularly surprising as the sales of the copies of the Haarlem edition apparently did not proceed satisfactorily. Supposing, nevertheless, that the author actually wrote his preface on 29 December 1594, one thing we might infer from the commendatory poem by Willem van Assendelft (p. 8; see also No. 19 above, p. 3), as well as from the hitherto unpublished ten-line epigram by Cornelis Loos(aeus, p. 11), is then that he sent the copy-text of the laudatory poems to the printer in Antwerp at the earliest sometime in 1596. And this being the case, we would expect him to have the preface brought up to date. Alternatively, we could be concerned here with an intentional antedating, but I have never come across any evidence of such a practice by Schonaeus, nor does it seem at all likely.

In the 1599 Wittenberg edition of the six plays (= Nos 24a-24d), which was set from a copy of this Antwerp edition, we see that the year date has been changed from 1595 to 1598, no doubt by the editor, thus indicating that in his opinion 29 December 1597 was the correct date.

<sup>57</sup> Antwerp, MPM, MS 321, f. 31<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> Copies of the 1615 catalogue are at Antwerp, MPM, A 1058, R 19.20, R 19.21, R 19.22, and R 55.22.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see BB, IV (1964), p. 110, No. 58; for the printer's device on sig. Y6<sup>v</sup>, see *ibid.*, p. 113, No. 80.

*Copies :*

Agen, BM, 4411; Antwerp, MPM, A 1026\*; Antwerp, Ruusbroec, 3116 F 18\*; Birmingham, PL, 094/1598/3; Brussels, KB, VB 6417 LP (1)\*; Cambridge, Trinity, III.13.80\* (title-leaf missing); Cambridge (Mass.), HUL, \*NC5.Sch652.592sc; Chantilly, Les Fontaines, X 700/603; Copenhagen, KB, 176I-52-8°; Florence, BU, Bardi 5A 114; Freiburg i. Br., UB, D 9293,d; Ghent, UB, B.L. 1756\*; Heidelberg, UB, Q 704<sup>±</sup> and v. Waldberg 858 Reservata; Kraków, Narodowe, 62899/I; Leyden, Thysiana (in the UB), Thys. 1231 (1)\*; Mainz, StB, I.t.467; Mannheim, UB, Weideum 1749; Maredsous, OSB, 456/378; Melk, Stift, 38041 and 38042; Neresheim, OSB, V 755\*; New York (N.Y.), CUL, B 878 Sch6 × 1598; Paris, Arsenal, Re 15432; Paris, Mazarine, 21402 (2); Pisa, BU, F.H.10.11; Rome, Alessandrina, N.e.43/1; Rome, Angelica, PP.4.36; Seville, BCC, 51-2-37-; Stuttgart, WLB, HB 1814; The Hague, KB, 1702 C 77:1\*; Toruń, Główna, Ob.6.II.4162 (title-leaf missing); Urbana (Ill.), UL, Neo-Latin Plays; Utrecht, De Vooy, L XVI SCHO b 1\* (blank Y8 missing); Westmalle, Abdij, 11, 40 (27122); Wrocław, BU, 456331; York, Minster, I.M.28.

23 TERENCE CHRISTIANUS SEU COMOEDIAE SACRAE SEX.

Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1599.

*Collation :*

8° (31 ll., 127 × 67 mm. [Q8<sup>r</sup>]): †-2†<sup>8</sup> A-L<sup>8</sup> M<sup>4</sup> N-2A<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (-†1, M4,5)], 204 leaves, pp. [32], 1 2-60; <sup>2</sup>1 2-68; <sup>3</sup>1-56; <sup>4</sup>1-64 [misnumbering 15 as '51']; <sup>5</sup>1 2-63 64; <sup>6</sup>1-62 63-64.

*Contents :*

†1 : title (verso blank). †2<sup>r</sup> : dedicatory letter : 'SERENISSIMIS D. D. | COMITIBVS PAL. RHENI | SVPERIORIS INFERIORISQVE | BAVARIAE DVCIBVS, REVERENDISS. | Philippo, Episcopo Ratisbon. Præposito | Metrop. Colon.ac Ferdinando Præposi- | to Argent. &c. Fratribus Principi- | bus lectissimis felicita- | tem P.', dated on †6<sup>r</sup> : 'Agrippinæ Coloniae. Anno instauratione sa- | lutis supra mille quingentos, nonagesimo | primo. Calendis Iulij. | (\*\*\*)' and signed 'Serenifs. Cellitud. V V. | Cornelius Loofæus.' †6<sup>v</sup> : foreword [by Cornelius Loosaeus Callidius] : 'PRAEFATIO. | CANDIDO LECTO- | RI, PVKITATIS ET ELEGANTIAE | Latini sermonis studiofo : & in primis Gymnasiiar- | chis, Rectoribus, Didascalis, cæterisq; stu- | diosa pubis formatoribus S.' ending on 2†6<sup>v</sup> and followed by a commendatory poem : 'OCTASTICHON FRID. HVL- | SII DARTHENI, IN CASTAM |

Terentij renati linguam.' (8 ll. 'B<sup>2</sup>Is genitum quis te non dixerit esse Terenti?'). 2†7<sup>r</sup>: commendatory poem: 'IN TERENTIVM CHRISTIANVM | IACOBI LOM, RVRAEMVNDANI.' (14 ll. 'Q<sup>2</sup>Valiter infano Iuuenis lasciuus amore') followed by two other commendatory poems: 'ALIVD EIVSDEM.' (4 ll. 'Induerat corpus Latiali veste Menandri') and 'TETRASTICHON C. LOOS IN | Terentij renouati pietatem.' (4 ll. 'Aethiopis pellis cum fit tibi adempta Terenti,'). 2†7<sup>v</sup>-2†8<sup>v</sup>: blank. A1<sup>r</sup>: || [band of type orns] || 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI. | NAAMAN.' ending on D6<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' D7<sup>r</sup>: || [band of type orns] || 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI. | TOBAEVS.' ending on H8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' I1<sup>r</sup>: || [band of type orns] || 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI, | NEHEMIAS.' ending on M4<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' N1<sup>r</sup>: || [band of type orns] || 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI, | SAVLVS.' ending on Q8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' R1<sup>r</sup>: || [band of type orns] || 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI, | IOSEPHVS.' ending on V8<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' V8<sup>v</sup>: blank. X1<sup>r</sup>: || [band of type orns] || 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI, | IVDITHA.' ending on 2A7<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' 2A8: blank.

#### Notes:

Of the first two sheets, containing the preliminaries, sigs †2<sup>r</sup>-†3<sup>r</sup> (on †4<sup>r</sup> the dedication has been shortened) and †6<sup>v</sup>-2†6<sup>v</sup> are likely to be a paginal resetting from the 1596 Cologne edition described above under No. 20.

Five out of six plays, viz. *Tobaeus*, *Nehemias* (except for pp. 24-25), *Saulus* (except for pp. 40-43), *Iosephus*, and *Iuditha*, are a paginal resetting from the 1596 Cologne edition. Of the play *Naaman* only pp. 1-43 are a paginal resetting from this edition. See, however, also the notes to No. 15 above.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 210.

#### Copies:

Augsburg, SStB, NL 997\*; Bad Münstereifel, St Michael, SJ 1599/3; Chicago (Ill.), UL, PA8577.S27T3 1599 vol. 1; Cologne, UStB, W.A.VI.671\* (2 copies with the same shelf-mark, one of which lacks blank 2†8 and blank 2A8; in this same copy gathering 2† comes from the Cologne 1604 edition described below under No. 31a; the other copy is cropped with a partial loss of some page numbers); Düsseldorf, UB, N.Lat. 327 (1)\*; Eichstätt, UB, N II 824\* (in this copy gathering 2† comes from the 1596 Cologne edition described above under No. 20); Ferrara, BCA, M.2.2.28; Freiburg i. Br., UB, D 9293,f; Freising, DB, 79083 (1)\*; Fribourg, OFMCap, 1059/17; Halle (Saale), ULB, AB 67  $\frac{11}{\text{ë},7}$ ; Leningrad, PB, 6.4.6.29; Leyden, UB, 730 F 16<sup>11</sup>\* (blank 2†8 and blank 2A8 missing; A6,7 badly damaged with a substantial loss of text); Münster, DB, O<sup>8</sup> 390; Prague, SK, 9 H 78; Princeton (N.J.), UL, Ex 2949.831.1599; Ravenna, Classense, F.A.16.6.F<sup>3</sup>; Ripon, Cathedral, II.D.17; Rome, Vaticana, Barberini GGG.IV.39; Rotterdam, GB, 1113 G 2\*; Sursee, OFMCap, F 2/9; The Hague,

KB, 1713 D 17\*; Toruń, Główna, Ob.6.II.248; Trier, StB, G 757 8\*; Tübingen, Stift, Dc 229; Wrocław, BU, 456333; Wrocław, PAN, 127095.

**24a** TERENCE CHRISTIANUS SEU COMOEDIAE SACRAE SEX.

Wittenberg, Simon Gronenberg (?) for Andreas Hoffmann, 1599.

*Collation :*

8° (30 ll., 126 × 74 mm. [C5<sup>r</sup>]): A-2C<sup>8</sup> 2D<sup>2</sup> [\$5 signed (– A1, 2D2,3,4,5)], 210 leaves, pp. 1-2 3-419 420 [misnumbering 108-09 as '18-9', 171 as '172', 247 as '257', 275 as '257', 296 as '267', (var.: 310 as '3 0', probably due to bad inking), 356 as '365', 395 as '495'].

*Contents :*

A1 : title (verso blank). A2<sup>r</sup> : preface: 'CANDIDO, HUMANOQUE | LECTORI | CORNELIUS SCHONÆUS S. P.', dated on A4<sup>v</sup>: 'Harl. iv. Kal. Ianua. | CIO. IO. XCVIII.' and followed by a commendatory poem: 'GVLIELMI ASSENDELPHII | EPIGRAMMA.' (16 ll. 'A<sup>2</sup>Ttulit ingenium Sophocli lætabile funus,'). On A5<sup>r</sup>: commendatory poem: 'HADRIANI IVNII HEXASTI- | CON SUB PERSONA AUCTORIS.' (6 ll. 'D<sup>2</sup>VM flores nitidi pafsim delibo Terentī,') followed by a dedicatory poem: 'EIVSDEM ACROSTICHIS AD | AUCTOREM IN LAVDEM PATRIAE.' (9 ll. 'G OVDA auro potior, referens & nomen ab auro,'). A5<sup>v</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'SIMONIS AGGERII HARLE- | MENSIS | AD CORNELIVM SCHONÆVM | Dimetri.' (40 ll. 'N<sup>2</sup>Omen tibi ex re contigit'). On A6<sup>r</sup>: commendatory poem: 'OCTASTICHON | FRID. HVLSII DARTHENI IN | CASTAM TERENCE RENATI | linguam.' (8 ll. 'B<sup>2</sup>Is genitum quis te non dixerit esse Terenti?') followed by another commendatory poem: 'IN TERENCE CHRISTIANVM | IACOBI LOM. RVRAEMVNDANI.' (14 ll. 'Q<sup>2</sup>Valiter infano juvenis la/civus amore'). On A6<sup>v</sup>: commendatory poem: 'TETRASTICHON | COR. LOOSÆI, IN TERENCE | RENOVATI PIETATEM.' (4 ll. 'A<sup>2</sup>Ethiopis pellis cū fit tibi adempta Terenti,') followed by another commendatory poem: 'EIVSDEM EPIGRAMMA.' (10 ll. 'S<sup>2</sup>I quem vana juvat Latiae facundia lingua [sic],') A7<sup>r</sup>: 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | TOBAEVS.' ending on F3<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' F3<sup>v</sup>: 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | NEHEMIAS.' ending on I8<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' I8<sup>v</sup>: 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI, | SAVLVVS.' ending on O3<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' O4<sup>r</sup>: 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | NAAMAN.', introduced by a dedicatory poem: 'HADRIANI IUNII | EPIGRAMMA. | IN

ARGVMENTVM COMOEDIÆ.' (26 ll. 'FæDA lues lepræ squamis obfederat albis'; O4<sup>r-v</sup>) and ending on S5<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' On S5<sup>v</sup>: 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | IOSEPHVS.' ending on Z1<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' Z1<sup>v</sup>: 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | IVDITHA.' ending on 2D2<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' 2D2<sup>v</sup>: blank.

*Notes :*

The text of this edition appears to have been set from a copy of the 1598 Antwerp edition (= No. 22).

Mr Heinrich Kühne, formerly director of the Melanchthonhaus in Lutherstadt-Wittenberg, was kind enough to inform me that from the typographical material used he concluded that, in all probability, Simon Gronenberg was the printer of this edition<sup>59</sup>.

According to Benzing, p. 503, No. 30, Simon Gronenberg was active as a printer in Wittenberg between 1579 and 1602.

For a note on the date of the preface to this edition, see the notes to No. 22 above and footnote 56.

For the publisher's device (c. 53 × c. 47 mm.) on the title-page and its description, see Heinrich Kühne, *Wittenberger Buchdruckersignets: Die Signets der Wittenberger Drucker und Verleger des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, [1983]), p. 347, No. 53 (greatly reduced) and pp. 340-46.

*Copies :*

Frauenfeld, TKB, CL 30779; Lutherstadt-Wittenberg, BEP, SW 1358 8\*\*;  
Munich, BSB, P.o.lat. 1389\*; New Haven (Conn.), YUL, Gr14 16b; Olomouc, SVK, 619.777; Washington, D.C., Folger, PA 8577 S23 A3 1599 Cage.

**24b** PARS PRIOR TERENTII CHRISTIANI SEU COMOEDIARUM CORNELII SCHONAEI.

Wittenberg, Simon Gronenberg(?) for Andreas Hoffmann, 1599.

*Another issue* (in relation to No. 24a above and No. 24d below).

*Variant state* (in relation to No. 24c below).

*Collation :*

8° (30 ll., 126 × 74 mm. [C5<sup>r</sup>]): A-2C<sup>8</sup> 2D<sup>2</sup> [\$5 signed (– A1, 2D2,3,4,5)], 210 leaves, pp. 1-2 3-419 420 [misnumbering 3 as '2', 108-09 as '18-9',

<sup>59</sup> On checking the list of works printed by Simon Gronenberg, which can be found on pp. 163-67 of Ephraim Gottlob Eichsfeld's *Relation, vom Wittenbergischen Buchdrucker = Jubiläum 1740, nebst einer historischen Nachricht, von allen Wittenbergischen Buchdruckern, welche, ... allhier Druckereyen gehabt haben* (Wittenberg, 1740), I found, however, neither the *pars prior* (= Nos 24a-24d) nor the *pars altera* (= Nos 26a-26b) of Schonaeus's *Christian Terence* included in it. A copy of the work by Eichsfeld is in Munich, BSB, Typ. 74<sup>w</sup>.



171 as '172', 247 as '257', 275 as '257', 296 as '267', (var: 310 as '3 0', probably due to bad inking), 356 as '365', 395 as '495'].

Title in black and red.

*Contents :*

A1: title (verso blank). A2<sup>r</sup>: preface: 'CANDIDO, HVMANOQVE | LECTORI | CORNELIUS SCHONÆUS S. P.', dated on A4<sup>v</sup>: 'Harl. 4. Kal. Ianuar. | Anno 1598.' and followed by a commendatory poem: 'GULIELMI ASSENDELPHII | EPIGRAMMA.' (16 ll. 'A<sup>2</sup>Talit [sic] ingenium Sophocli lætabile funus,'). On A5<sup>r</sup>: commendatory poem: 'HADRIANI IUNII HEXASTI- | CON SVB PERSONA AVCTORIS.' (6 ll. 'D<sup>2</sup>VM flores nitidi paffim delibo Terenti,') followed by a dedicatory poem: 'EIUSDEM ACROSTICHIS AD | AVCTOREM IN LAVDEM PATRIÆ' (9 ll. 'G OUDA auro potior, referens & nomen ab auro,'). A5<sup>v</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'SIMONIS AGGERII HARLE- | MENSIS | AD CORNELIUM SCHONAEUM | Dimetrii [sic].' (40 ll. 'N<sup>2</sup>Omen tibi ex re contigit'). On A6<sup>r</sup>: commendatory poem: 'OCTASTICHON | FRID. HULSII DARTHENI IN | CASTAM TERENTII RENATI | linguam.' (8 ll. 'B<sup>2</sup>Is genitum quis te non dixerit effe Terenti?') followed by another commendatory poem: 'IN TERENTIUM CHRISTIANUM | IACOBI LOM. RURÆMUNDANI.' (14 ll. 'Q<sup>2</sup>Valiter infano iuvenis lascivus amore'). On A6<sup>v</sup>: commendatory poem: 'TETRASTICHON. | COR. LOOSAEI, IN TERENTII | RENOVATI PIETATEM.' (4 ll. 'A<sup>2</sup>Ethiopis pellis cū fit tibi adempta Terenti,') followed by another commendatory poem: 'EIVSDEM EPIGRAMMA.' (10 ll. 'S<sup>2</sup>I quem vana iuvat Latiae facundia lingua [sic],'). A7<sup>r</sup>: 'Terentii Chriftiani | TOBÆVS.' B1<sup>r</sup>-2D2<sup>v</sup>: the same as in No. 24a above.

*Notes :*

In comparison with No. 24a above, the whole title-leaf gathering is reset but with a different title.

This first state of the title-page, however, was typographically unsatisfactory; and after some copies had been run off, the press was stopped and a revised setting made (see the title-page of No. 24c below).

On the title-page the phrase 'Terentiano stylo conscriptæ.' has been added in red ink in manuscript.

For notes on the printer and the publisher's device on the title-page, see the notes to No. 24a above.

*Copy :*

Amsterdam, UB-GU, 2404 C 41\*.

**24c** PARS PRIOR TERENCE CHRISTIANI SEU COMOEDIARUM CORNELII SCHONAEI.

Wittenberg, Simon Gronenberg (?) for Andreas Hoffmann, 1599.

*Another issue* (in relation to No. 24a above and No. 24d below).

*Variant state* (in relation to No. 24b above).

*Collation :*

See No. 24b above.

Title in black and red.

*Contents :*

See No. 24b above. On sig. A6<sup>r</sup>, however, there is either a press-variation or else we are concerned with a case of bad inking: 'OCTASTICHON | FRID. HULSII DARTHENI IN [*var*: 'I'] | CASTAM TERENCE RENATI | linguam.'

*Notes :*

The relative positions of the black and red lines on the title-page vary more or less in various copies as a result of two-impression colour printing.

For notes on the printer and the publisher's device on the title-page, see the notes to No. 24a above.

*Copies :*

Aberdeen, UL, π 8792 Sch 2\* (title-page damaged with some loss of text); Bamberg, SB, L.r.r.o. 110\*; Halle (Saale), MB, W 3.44\*; Toruń, Główna, Ob.6.II.2587; Uppsala, UB, Script.lat.rec.\*; Wrocław, BU, 382519/8 V 1379/ and 456321.

**24d** PARS PRIOR TERENCE CHRISTIANI SEU COMOEDIARUM CORNELII SCHONAEI.

Wittenberg, Simon Gronenberg (?) for Andreas Hoffmann, 1599

*Another issue* (in relation to Nos 24a-24c above).

*Collation :*

8° (30 ll., 126 × 74 mm. [C5<sup>r</sup>]): A-2C<sup>8</sup> 2D<sup>2</sup> [\$5 signed (– A1, 2D2,3,4,5)], 210 leaves, pp. 1-2 3-8 9 10 11 12-419 420 [misnumbering 3 as '2', 6 as '61', 108-09 as '18-9', 171 as '172', 247 as '257', 275 as '257', 296 as '267', (*var*: 310 as '3 0', probably due to bad inking), 356 as '365', 395 as '495'].

Title in black and red.

*Contents :*

A1: title (verso blank). A2<sup>r</sup>: preface: '*CANDIDO, HVMANOQVE | LECTORI | CORNELIVS SCHONÆVS S. P.*', dated on A4<sup>v</sup>: 'Harl. 4. Kal. Ianuar. | Anno 1598.' and followed by a commendatory poem: '*GULIELMI ASSENDELPHII | EPIGRAMMA.*' (16 ll. 'A<sup>2</sup>*Ttulit ingenium Sophocli lætabile funus,*'). On A5<sup>r</sup>: commendatory poem: '*HADRIANI IUNII HEXASTI- | CON SUB PERSONA AUCTORIS.*' (6 ll. 'D<sup>2</sup>*VM flores nitidi paffim delibo Terenti,*') followed by a dedicatory poem: '*EJUSDEM ACROSTICHIS AD | AUCTOREM IN LAUDEM PATRIÆ.*' (9 ll. 'G OUDA *auro potior, referens & nomen ab auro,*'). A5<sup>v</sup>: dedicatory poem: '*SIMONIS AGGERII HARLE- | MENSIS | AD CORNELIUM SCHONAEUM | Dimetrii [sic].*' (40 ll. 'N<sup>2</sup>*Omen tibi ex re contigit*'). On A6<sup>r</sup>: commendatory poem: '*OCTASTICHON | FRID. HULSII DARTHENI IN | CASTAM TERENTII RENATI | linguam.*' (8 ll. 'B<sup>2</sup>*Is genitum quis te non dixerit effe Terenti?*') followed by another commendatory poem: '*IN TERENTIUM CHRISTIANUM | IACOBI LOM. RURÆMUNDANI.*' (14 ll. 'Q<sup>2</sup>*Valiter infano iuvenis lascivus amore*'). On A6<sup>v</sup>: commendatory poem: '*TETRASTICHON. | COR. LOOSAEI, IN TERENTII | RENOVATI PIETATEM.*' (4 ll. 'A<sup>2</sup>*Ethiopis pellis cū fit tibi adempta Terenti,*') followed by another commendatory poem: '*EIVSDEM EPIGRAMMA.*' (10 ll. 'S<sup>2</sup>*I quem vana iuvat Latiae facundia lingua [sic],*'). A7<sup>r</sup>: 'Terentii Chriftiani | TOBAEVVS.' B1<sup>r</sup>-2D2<sup>v</sup>: the same as in No. 24a above.

*Notes :*

In comparison with Nos 24a-24c above, the whole title-leaf gathering is reset but with the addition of the privilege on the title-page.

For notes on the printer and the publisher's device on the title-page, see the notes to No. 24a above.

*Copy :*

Einsiedeln, Stift, L1 2258 (description from photocopies).

**25** COMOEDIARUM CORNELII SCHONAEI ALTERA PARS.

Haarlem, Gillis Rooman for Zacharias Heyns at Amsterdam, 1599.

*Collation :*

8° (34 ll., 139 × 79 mm. [B2<sup>v</sup>]): A-T<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (– A1, R3, T5)], 152 leaves, pp. irreg. 1-2 3-256 255-300 301-302 [= 304] [misnumbering 38

as '83', (*var*: 162 as '621'), 205 as '520', 214 as '114', 220 as '120', 257-302 as '255-300' and, within this misnumbered sequence, 272 [= 274] as '262'; misprinting 184 as 'p84'; *var*: p. 3 unnumbered].

*Contents :*

A1: title (verso blank). A2<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory letter: 'HONORATISSIMIS, | PRVDENTISSIMISQVE HAR- | LEMIANÆ CIVITATIS CONSULIBUS, | *reliquisq<sub>3</sub> Magistratibus Cornelius Schonæus S.*', dated on A3<sup>r</sup>: 'Har- | lemi, ipfis Calendis Februarii, Anno 1599.' A3<sup>v</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'AD CORNELIVM SCHONÆVM | GOUDANUM, GYMNASIARCHAM | Harlemenfem, olim præceptorem fuum.' (38ll. 'C<sup>2</sup>Orneli Batavæ moderator fide juventæ:'), signed on A4<sup>r</sup>: 'Quod voveo, & auguror, | PETRUS SCHRIVERIUS | Harlemenfis.' and followed by a dedicatory poem: || 'AD CORNELIVM SCHONÆVM | COMICUM.' (14ll. 'A<sup>2</sup>Fer, Aristophanes, *pallæq<sub>3</sub> repertor honestæ*') signed 'T. Schrevelius.' A4<sup>v</sup>: 'SVSANNA, | COMOEDIA SACRA.' ending on D1<sup>v</sup>. D2<sup>r</sup>: 'DANIEL. | COMOEDIA SACRA.' ending on F4<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' F5<sup>r</sup>: 'TRIVMPHVS | CHRISTI. | COMOEDIA SACRA.' ending on H6<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' H6<sup>v</sup>: 'PSEVDOSTRATIOTAE | FABVLA LVDICRA.' ending on K5<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' K6<sup>r</sup>: 'CVNAE, | FABVLA LVDICRA.' ending on M4<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' On M4<sup>v</sup>: || 'VITVLVS | FABVLA LVDICRA.' ending on O4<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' O4<sup>v</sup>: 'LIBER | ELEGIARVM.', introduced by a dedicatory letter: 'REVERENDO, ATQVE HONO- | RATO DOMINO, D. TIMANNO | A WOU, RHODIANORUM DOMINO- | rum apud Harlemenfes Præfuli, | *Cornelius Schonæus S.*', dated on O5<sup>r</sup>: 'Harlemi, | quarto Calendas Martij, Anno M.D.XCIX.' On R3<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' R3<sup>v</sup>: 'LIBER | EPIGRAMMATVM.', introduced by a dedicatory letter: 'PROBATE, ATQVE ERVDITIONE | INSIGNI, EUGENIO PEREBOMIO, | *Goudano, Cornelius Schonæus S.*' (R3<sup>v</sup>-R4<sup>r</sup>) and ending on T7<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.', followed by Schonæus's *symbolum*: 'NULLUM SIMULATUM DIUTURNUM.' and || 'Hæc pauca fic corrige.' [errata listed between p. 48 (sig. C8<sup>v</sup>) and p. 178 (sig. M1<sup>v</sup>)]. T8: blank.

*Notes :*

From the typographical material used, especially the initials, it can be deduced that this 1599 edition came from the press of Gillis Rooman at Haarlem<sup>60</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> Compare the type used in this edition with that used in the 1592 Haarlem edition of Schonæus's plays, elegies, and epigrams (= No. 16a) and in the 1596 Haarlem edition of his *Daniel* (= No. 19), which came both from the Rooman press. For the initial letters P (pp. 124 and 155) and A (p. 260 [= 262]) used in this 1599 edition, see Laccueille-Van de Kerk, p. 401, No. 98. The initials A and C (p. 216) can also be found in the 1596 *Daniel* on pp. 3 (A) and 6 (C), whereas the initial S (pp. 9, 89,

In the dedicatory epistle to the Haarlem magistrates, Schonaeus informs us once again (pp. 4-5), in nearly the same phrasing as he had done before in 1596 in his dedicatory letter to Gerrit Fransz. Kegelinh, prefixed to his play *Daniel* (see No. 19 above), that some people had advised him to be content with the honorary title of 'Terentius Christianus' and to refrain from writing more plays in order not to exceed the canonized number of six plays by Terence.

Nevertheless, on the advice of his literary friends ('amicorum literatorum consilio adductus': p. 216), he decided to publish another collection of six plays and to dedicate also this second part of his comedies to the Haarlem magistrates, as he had done before in 1592 when publishing the first part (= No. 16a).

For the dedication of these comedies ['commedien'] to the Haarlem magistrates and the presentation of some copies Schonaeus received a gratification of twenty-five pounds ['xxv £']<sup>61</sup>.

For the publisher's device on the title-page, see BB, IV (1964), p. 68, No. 5; Briels, p. 318 (left at the bottom); and Moes-Burger, IV, p. 174.

### *Copies:*

Amsterdam, UB-GU, 976 F 24\* (blank T8 missing); Bologna, BCA, 7.S.VI.17; Brussels, KB, VB 6417 LP (2)\*; Cambridge (Mass.), HUL, \*NC5.Sch652.592sc (R1 missing); Chantilly, Les Fontaines, X 700/604; Colmar, BV, S. 666; Copenhagen, KB, 1761-52-8°; Dillingen, StuB, XVII 458; Dresden, SLB, Lit.Lat.rec. A.1361; Glasgow, UL, BC5-k.20 (original title-leaf missing); Göttingen, NSUB, 8° Poet. Dram. I,3480; Haarlem, StB, 802 C 5\* (the page numerals 173 and 174 are not completely legible because of a hole in the paper); Innsbruck, SJ, 42124/2675; Leyden, Thysiana (in the UB), Thys. 1231 (2)\*; Marburg/Lahn, UB, XVI C 393<sup>b</sup>; Padua, BSV, AA=5 (Balan); Paris, Arsenal, Re 15433; Paris, Mazarine, 21402 (1); Rome, Alessandrina, N.e.43/2; Rome, Vaticana, Palatina V. 5; Stuttgart, WLB, HB 816 and HB 1814; The Hague, KB, 1702 C 77:3\* and 1707 D 16\*; Toruń, Główna, Ob.6.II.4162; Venray, private collection\*; Washington, D.C., Folger, PA 8577 S23 A3 1599a Cage; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 77.4 Poet.\* (in this copy page number 166 is badly inked); Wrocław, BU, 456331; Zwickau, RB, 28.10.2/2.

and 185: on the last-mentioned page this initial has been printed upside down in a number of copies) occurs in, e.g., Iacobus Brassica's *Maiale de certo vitae genere deligendo*, printed by Rooman in 1598, on sig. A2<sup>v</sup> (here also upside down; copies of the *Maiale* are in Gouda, Librye, 1319B and The Hague, KB, 1703 C 55:3). It is noteworthy that in the sixteenth century Rooman was the only printer in the Netherlands who was in the possession of these initials (I thank Mr P. Valkema Blouw for giving me this information). Moreover, in 1599 there existed at least a business connection between the Haarlem printer Rooman and the Amsterdam publisher Zacharias Heyns, since from 1592 onwards the former printed a number of works for the latter (see Lacleuve-Van de Kerk, p. 113 and the list of editions printed by Rooman for Heyns: Nos 78, 87, 90, 92, 99, 103, and 110).

<sup>61</sup> GA Haarlem, Kast 19, Nr. 179, Thes. rek. 1599, f. 72<sup>r</sup>.

**26a** PARS ALTERA TERENTII CHRISTIANI SEU COMOEDIARUM CORNELII SCHONAEI.

Wittenberg, Simon Gronenberg (?) for Andreas Hoffmann, 1599.

*Collation :*

8° (30 ll., 123 × 67 mm. [N4<sup>r</sup>]): A-Z<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (–A1, I5, var: P3,5; F5 signed 'E5', M4 signed 'N4')], 184 leaves, pp. irreg. 1-2 3-179 179-364 365-367 [= 368] [misnumbering 25 as '52', 84 as '68', 163 as '126', 180-365 as '179-364' and, within this misnumbered sequence, 198 [= 199] as '189', 326 [= 327] as '263' (var: 326 [= 327] as '2', probably due to bad inking); var: misprinting 314 [= 315] as '1&4'; var: p. 48 unnumbered].

*Contents :*

A1: title (verso blank). A2<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory letter: 'HONORATIS= | SIMIS, PRVDENTISSI= | MISQVE HARLEMIANAE | Civitatis Confulibus, reli- | quisq; Magiftratibus | *Cornelius Schonæus S.*', dated on A4<sup>v</sup>: 'Harlemi, ipfis Calendis | Februarii, Anno 1599'. A5<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'AD CORNELIVM | SCHONAEVM GOVDANVM, | GYMNASIARCHAM HARLE- | mensẽ; olim præceptorem | fuum.' (38 ll. 'C<sup>2</sup>*Orneli Batavæ moderator fide iuventæ:*') signed on A5<sup>v</sup>: 'Quod voveo, & auguror, | PETRUS SCHRIVERIUS | Harlemenfis.' and followed by a group of type orns. A6<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory poem: || 'AD CORNAELIUM [*sic*] SCHO- | NÆVM COMICVM' (14 ll. 'A<sup>2</sup>*Fer, Aristophanes, pallæq; repertor honestæ*') signed 'T. Schrevelius' and followed by a group of type orns. A6<sup>v</sup>: 'SVSANNA, | COMOEDIA | SACRA.' ending on D7<sup>v</sup>. D8<sup>r</sup>: 'DANIEL. | COMOEDIA SACRA.' ending on G7<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' G7<sup>v</sup>: 'TRIVMPHVS | CHRISTI. | COMOEDIA SACRA' ending on K5<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' K5<sup>v</sup>: 'PSEVDOSTRA= | TIOTÆ. | FABVLA LVDICRA.' ending on M8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' N1<sup>r</sup>: 'CVNAE, | FABVLA LVDICRA.' ending on P2<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' P3<sup>r</sup>: 'VITVLVS. | FABULA LUDICRA.' ending on R6<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' R7<sup>r</sup>: 'LIBER | ELEGIARVM.', introduced by a dedicatory letter: 'REVERENDO, ATQVE | HONORATO DOMINO, D. TIMAN- | no à VVou, Rhodianorum Dominorum apud | Harlemenfes Præfuli, | *Cornelius Schonæus S.*', dated on R7<sup>v</sup>: 'Harlemii [*sic*], quarto Calendas | Martij, Anno M. D. XCIX.' On V8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' X1<sup>r</sup>: 'LIBER | EPIGRAMMATVM.', introduced by a dedicatory letter: 'PROBITATE, ATQVE | ERVDITIONE INSIGNI, EVGE- | nio Perebomio, Goudano, | *Cornelius Schonæus S.*' (X1<sup>r-v</sup>) and ending on Z7<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.', followed by *Schonaeus's symbolum*: 'NVLLVM SIMVLATVM DIVTVRNVM.' Z7<sup>v</sup>-Z8<sup>v</sup>: blank.

*Notes :*

The text of this edition appears to have been set from a copy of the 1599 Haarlem-Amsterdam edition (= No. 25).

For a note on the printer, see the notes to No. 24a above.

*Copies :*

Aberdeen, UL, π 8792 Sch 2\*; Gotha, FB, P 2378; Halle (Saale), MB, W 3.44\*; Halle (Saale), ULB, AB 67  $\frac{11}{\text{c}, 7}$ ; New Haven (Conn.), YUL, Gr14 16b; Uppsala, UB, Script.lat.rec.\*; Wrocław, BU, 382519/8 V 1379/, 456321, and 456333.

**26b** PARS ALTERA TERENTII CHRISTIANI SEU COMOEDIARUM CORNELII SCHONAEI.

Wittenberg, Simon Gronenberg (?) for Andreas Hoffmann, 1599.

*Another issue.*

*Collation :*

See No. 26a above.

*Contents :*

A1: title (verso blank). A2<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory letter: 'HONORATIS= | SIMIS, PRVDENTISSI- | MISQVE HARLEMIANAE | Civitatis Confulibus, reli- | quifq̃; Magistratibus | *Cornelius Schonæus S.*,' dated on A4<sup>v</sup>: 'Harlemi, ipfis Calendis | Februarii, Anno 1599.' A5<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'AD CORNELIVM | SCHONAEVM GOVDANVM, | GYMNASIARCHAM HARLE- | menfem, olim præceptorem | fuum.' (38 ll. 'C<sup>2</sup>*Orneli Batava moderator fide iuventæ:*') signed on A5<sup>v</sup>: 'Quod voveo, & auguror, | PETRUS SCHRIVERIUS. | Harlemenfis.' and followed by a group of type orns. A6<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory poem: || 'AD CORNELIVM SCHO= | NÆVM COMICVM.' (14 ll. 'A<sup>2</sup>*Fer, Ariftophanes, pallæq̃, repertor honestæ*') signed 'T. Schrevelius.' and followed by an orn. [the same as that on the title-page]. A6<sup>v</sup>: 'SVSANNA, | COMOEDIA | SACRA.' B1<sup>r</sup>-Z8<sup>v</sup>: the same as in No. 26a above.

*Notes :*

In comparison with No. 26a above, the whole title-leaf gathering is reset but with the addition of the privilege on the title-page.

For a note on the printer, see the notes to No. 24a above.

*Copies :*

Augsburg, SStB, NL 995 -2-\*; Bamberg, SB, L.r.r.o. 110\*; Chicago (Ill.), UL,

PA8577.S27T3 1599 vol. 2; Katowice, Śląska, 231950 I; Leningrad, PB, 6.VI.5.89; Munich, BSB, P.o.lat. 1389\*; Toruń, Główna, Ob.6.II.2587; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 67.17 Eth. (1)\* (in this copy P(i) has been laid on the press the wrong way round).

27 DANIEL.

Nuremberg, Katharina Dietrich, 1601.

*Collation:*

8° (30 ll., 119 × 72 mm. [B8<sup>r</sup>]): A-C<sup>8</sup> D<sup>4</sup> [\$5 signed (– A1, D4,5; B4 signed 'A4')], 28 leaves, pp. 1-2 3-54 55-56.

*Contents:*

A1: title (verso blank). A2<sup>r</sup>: commendatory poem: [orn.] | 'GVLIELMI ASSENDELPHII | EPIGRAMMA, IN COMMEN- | dationem auctoris.' (16 ll. 'A<sup>4</sup>[init.] *Ttulit ingenium Sophocli lætabile funus,*'). A2<sup>v</sup>: commendatory poem: 'PETRI CARPENTERII|ACROSTICHIS.' (8 ll. 'S<sup>2</sup> *Chonæo dignos omnes præstemus honones [sic],*') followed by two dedicatory poems: || 'GVLIELMI A WOV HAR- | LEMENSIS I. V. L. TETRA- | STICHON.' (4 ll. 'S<sup>2</sup>*Chonæum genuit mortalis Gouda poëtam*') and 'ALIVD DISTICHON | EIVSDEM.' (2 ll. 'P<sup>2</sup>*Vlchrum nomen habet Schonæus, pulchrius aſt hoc,*'). A3<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory poem: [orn.] | 'THEOTORI [sic] SCREVELII HAR- | LEMENSIS ACROSTICHIS.' (8 ll. 'S<sup>2</sup>*Chonæum cumulos laudum miraris apifci?*') followed by an orn. A3<sup>v</sup>: dedicatory letter: 'HONORATO, | LAVDATOQVE VIRO | GERARDO FRANCISCO KEGE- | lingo, goudanæ civitatis confuli, domi- | no fuo colendo, Cornelius | Schonæus S. D.', dated on A4<sup>v</sup>: 'Harlemi,ipſis Calend: Ianuarij,Anno 1596.' and signed '*Dignitati tuæ addictiſſimus,* | CORNELIVS SCHONÆVS.' A5<sup>r</sup>: text of the play, ending on D3<sup>v</sup>: '*FINIS.*' and followed by Schonæus's *symbolum*: 'Nullum fimulatum diuturnum.' D4: blank.

*Note:*

The text of this edition has been set from a copy of the 1596 Haarlem edition (= No. 19).

*Copy:*

Zwickau, RB, 6.1.40/5 (description from microfilm).

28 TERENCE CHRISTIANUS SIVE COMOEDIAE DUA [TOBAEUS, IUDITHA], PSEUDOSTRATIOTES.

London, Richard Field for Robert Dexter, 1601.



*Collation :*

8° (30 ll., 121 × 71 mm. [A4<sup>r</sup>]): A-M<sup>8</sup> [\$4 signed (–A1)], 96 leaves, pp. 1-2 3-190 191-192 [misnumbering 41 as '43', 77 as '78', (var: 109 as '119'), 111 as '11', (var: 112 as '122'), 176 as '177'].

*Contents :*

A1<sup>r</sup>: title. A1<sup>v</sup>: foreword [by the editor]: '*Ad Lectorem.*' On A1<sup>v</sup>: [TOBÆVS] ending on E6<sup>r</sup>: '*FINIS.*' E6<sup>v</sup>: '*IVDITHA.*' ending on I7<sup>r</sup>: '*FINIS.*' I7<sup>v</sup>: '*PSEVDOSTRATIO- | TÆ, FABVLA IOCO- | fa,* atque ludicra.' ending on M7<sup>v</sup>: '*FINIS.*' M8: missing (blank?).

*Notes :*

On the evidence of the initials S (p. 76) and P (p. 142) used in this edition, there can be no doubt that the book came from the press of Richard Field.

In printing his works Field used most of the printing materials that had belonged to Thomas Vautrollier, his master, whose widow Jacqueline he married soon after 4 March 1588 (see McKerrow, *Devices*, pp. 171<sup>b</sup> and 183<sup>a</sup>, and McKerrow, *Dictionary*, pp. 102-03 and 272-73; see also p. 35 of the book by Woodfield referred to in the footnote)<sup>62</sup>.

The text of this edition is likely to have been set from a copy of the 1595 London edition (= No. 17).

For a note on the English editions of two of Schonaeus's biblical dramas under the title *Terentius Christianus* and his farce *Pseudostratiotes*, see the notes to No. 17 above.

For the publisher's device on the title-page, see McKerrow, *Devices*, No. 260; cf. *ibid.*, p. 101.

*Copies :*

Cambridge, UL, Pet.H.2.38<sup>1\*</sup> (from Peterborough Cathedral Library, on deposit; M8 missing and in the imprint the letters 'Ser-' of the word 'Ser- | pentis' are missing because of a hole in the paper); Oxford, Christ Church, f.9.20\* (M8 missing).

**29a** TARENTII CHRISTIANI PARS SECUNDA.

Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1602.

<sup>62</sup> The initials S and P mentioned above are both used in STC 2810, a *New Testament* in Latin printed by Thomas Vautrollier in 1587, on sigs 2V3<sup>v</sup> (P) and 3F1<sup>r</sup> (S). See also Denis B. Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England 1550-1640* (New York, 1973), where in Appendix F: *Ornaments and Initials of Richard Field*, the initial P is listed on p. 178 as No. 40. There the author also indicates that this initial appears in STC 11289 (with Field's name in the imprint, dated 1589) and in two other books without Field's name but printed by him, STC 2959 and NSTC 24482.

My thanks are due to Miss Katharine F. Pantzer of the Houghton Library in Cambridge (Mass.) for much of the above information.

*Collation :*

8° (31 ll., 127 × 69 mm. [A5<sup>r</sup>]): †<sup>8</sup> A-Q<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (–†1, G4, K4)], 136 leaves, pp. [16], 1-254 255-256 [misnumbering 205 as '207'; var: p. 156 unnumbered].

*Contents :*

†1: title (verso blank). †2<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory letter: 'HONORATIS- | SIMIS PRVDENTIS- | *SIMISQVE HARLEMIANAE CIVITA-* | *tatis [sic] Confulibus, reliquifq<sub>3</sub> Magiftrati-* | *bus Cornelius Schonæus S.*', dated on †3<sup>v</sup>: 'Harlemi, ipfis Calendis, [*sic*: no month mentioned] | Anno 1602.' †4<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'AD CORNELIVM SCHONAE- | VM GOVDANVM, GYMNASIARCHAM | Harlemenfem, olim præcepto- | rem fuum.' (38 ll. 'C<sup>2</sup>*Orneli Batavæ moderator fide iuventæ:*') signed on †4<sup>v</sup>: 'Quod voveo, & auguror, | PETRVS SCHRIVERIVS | Harlemenfis.' and followed by an orn. †5<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'AD CORNELIVM | SCHONÆVM | COMICVM.' (14 ll. 'A<sup>2</sup>*Fer, Ariftophanes, pallæq<sub>3</sub> repertor honeftæ*') signed 'T. Schrevelius.' and followed by an orn. †5<sup>v</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'CL. D. CORNELIO | SCHONÆO | GOVDANO. | ODEN [*sic*].' (20 ll. 'V<sup>2</sup>*Anus Deorum cultor, & impië*') signed 'Pangebatur | Arnoldus Mylius, Arn. F. | Birckmannus.' †6<sup>r</sup>: commendatory poem: 'ADOLPHVS CHVLC= [*sic*] | KENIVS GELDRIENSIS | PHILOSOPHIÆ IN ACADEMIA | Colonienfi, Gymnafij Montis | Profeffor benevolo | Lectori.' (18 ll. 'Q<sup>2</sup>*Visquis ftudes imbuere mentem moribus,*'). †6<sup>v</sup>: commendatory poem: 'EIDEM. | TERENTIVS CHRI- | STIANVS. | ΑΝΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΣ. | EN TVTARE SINVS | CHRISTI.' (11 ll. 'Q<sup>2</sup>*Visquis flagranti nifu, vigiliq<sub>3</sub> labore*') ending with an orn. †7<sup>r</sup>-†8<sup>r</sup>: blank. †8<sup>v</sup>: 'SVSANNA | COMOEDIA SACRA,' ending on C7<sup>v</sup> with an orn. below. C8<sup>r</sup>: 'DANIEL. | COMOEDIA SACRA.' ending on F5<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' On F5<sup>r</sup>: 'TRIVMPHVS. | CHRISTI. | COMOEDIA SACRA.' ending on H8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by an orn. I1<sup>r</sup>: 'TYPHLVS. | COMOEDIA SACRA, | ET NOVA.' ending on L4<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' L4<sup>v</sup>: 'PENTECOSTE | COMOEDIA SACRA, | ET NOVA.' ending on N8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by an orn. O1<sup>r</sup>: 'ANANIAS. | COMOEDIA SACRA, | ET NOVA.' ending on Q7<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by an orn. Q8: blank.

*Notes :*

For the dedication of certain 'comedia sacra' [*sic*], composed and published by him, Schonæus was rewarded by ordinance of the burgomasters of Haarlem with the sum of eighteen pounds ['ponden']<sup>63</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> GA Haarlem, Kast 19, Nr. 182, Thes. rek. 1602, f. 71<sup>v</sup>.

With the exception of some minor alterations, such as the change of the date (see No. 29b below, sig. †3<sup>v</sup>), there is a chance that the texts of the dedicatory epistle by the author and the laudatory poems by Schriverius and Schrevelius, as well as the text of the first three plays (*Susanna*, *Daniel*, and *Triumphus Christi*) of this edition, have been set from a copy of the 1599 Haarlem-Amsterdam edition of the second part of Schonaeus's plays (= No. 25). However, it will only be possible to establish the relationship of these two editions to each other by means of a critical edition of the plays.

From a comparison of the position of the printer's device on the title-page of various copies it may be deduced that the title-page of the Eichstätt UB copy (see Pl. 34 and the list of traced copies below) represents the first state of the title-page which, however, was not altogether satisfactory; and after some copies had been run off, the press was stopped and a change in the position of the device executed.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 209.

*Copies :*

Augsburg, SStB, NL 996\*; Chicago (Ill.), UL, PA8575.S38T3 1602; Eichstätt, UB, N II 824\*; Frauenfeld, TKB, CL 30779; Freiburg i. Br., UB, D 9293\* (blank Q8 missing); Freising, DB, 79083 (2)\*; Prague, SK, 9 H 78; Princeton (N.J.), UL, Ex 2949.831.1599; Ravenna, Classense, F.A.16.6.F<sup>3</sup>; Stuttgart, WLB, fr.D.8° 6391.

**29b** TERENCE CHRISTIANI PARS SECUNDA.

Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1602.

*Variant state* (in relation to No. 29a above).

*Collation :*

See No. 29a above.

*Contents :*

†1: title (verso blank). †2<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory letter: 'HONORATIS- | SIMIS PRVDENTIS- | *SIMISQVE HARLEMIANAE CIVITA-* | *tatis* [*sic*] *Confulibus, reliquifq̃ Magistrati-* | *bus Cornelius Schonæus S.*,' dated on †3<sup>v</sup>: 'Harlemi, ipfis Calendis, | Aprilis, Anno | 1602.' †4<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'AD CORNELIVM SCHONAE- | VM GOVDANVM, GYMNASIARCHAM | Harlemenfem, olim præcepto- | rem fuum.' (38 ll. 'C<sup>2</sup>*Orneli Batavæ moderator fide iuventæ:*') signed on †4<sup>v</sup>: 'Quod voveo, & auguror, | PETRVS SCHRIVERIVS | Harlemenfis.' and followed by an orn. †5<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'AD CORNELIVM | SCHONÆVM | COMICVM.' (14 ll. 'A<sup>2</sup>*Fer, Ariftophanes, pallæq̃ repertor honeftæ*') signed 'T. Schrevelius.' and followed by an orn. †5<sup>v</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'CL. D. CORNELIO | SCHONÆO | GOVDANO. | ODEN' [*sic*] (20 ll. 'V<sup>2</sup>*Anus*

*Deorum cultor, & impiè*’) signed ‘Pangebāt | Arnoldus Mylius, Arn. F. | Birckmannus.’ †6<sup>r</sup>: commendatory poem: ‘ADOLPHVS SCHVL- | CKENIVS GELDRIENSIS | PHILOSOPHIÆ IN ACADEMIA | Colonienfi, Gymnafij Montis | Profeffor, benevolo | Lectori.’ (18 ll. ‘Q<sup>2</sup> *Visquis studes imbuere mentem moribus*,’). †6<sup>v</sup>: commendatory poem: ‘EIDEM. | TERENTIVS CHRI- | STIANVS. | ΑΝΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΣ. | ΕΝ ΤΥΤΑΡΕ ΣΙΝΥΣ | ΧΡΙΣΤΙ.’ (11 ll. ‘Q<sup>2</sup> *Visquis flagranti nifu, vigiliq<sub>3</sub> labore*’) ending with an orn. †7<sup>r</sup>: ‘ERRATA QV AEDAM [sic] IN HOC LIBEL- | lo sic emendanda sunt,’ [errata listed between p. 2 (sig. A1<sup>v</sup>) and p. 219 (sig. O6<sup>r</sup>)]. †7<sup>v</sup>-†8<sup>r</sup>: blank. †8<sup>v</sup>: ‘SVSANNA | COMOEDIA SACRA,’. A1<sup>r</sup>-Q8<sup>v</sup>: the same as in No. 29a above.

#### Notes:

The first state of the title-leaf gathering (see No. 29a above) contained several errors. When they were noted, stop-press corrections were made in the type.

As far as the title-page is concerned, the greater part of the original type-setting down to the imprint has been utilized, whereas the imprint and the last line of text, indicating the privilege by the emperor, have been completely reset. However, what resetting (apart from that necessary for the correction of obvious errors) there is in inner and outer †, the slight shifts in position of the ornaments on †4<sup>v</sup> and †5<sup>r</sup>, and the substitution of a new ornament for the original one in †6<sup>v</sup> are probably caused by, and presumed to repair, the accidents which the type-pages could meet with, when the formes were unlocked for press-corrections and the addition of the errata list placed in †7<sup>r</sup>.

For the printer’s device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 209.

#### Copies:

Düsseldorf, UB, N.Lat. 327 (2)\*.

The copies in Leningrad, BAH,  $\frac{XIV Ba}{XV*2}$ , and Oxford, Corpus Christi, LD 14 b 20\*, contain the same title-leaf gathering, but gatherings A-Q belong to the 1606 Cologne edition (= Nos 32a-32b).

#### 29c TERENTII CHRISTIANI PARS SECUNDA.

Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1602.

*Another issue* (in relation to Nos 29a-29b above).

#### Collation:

8° (31 ll., 127 × 69 mm. [A5<sup>r</sup>]): †<sup>8</sup> A-Q<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (–†1,2,3,4, G4, K4; †5 signed ‘†4’, †6 signed ‘†5’)], 136 leaves, pp. [16], 1-254 255-256 [misnumbering 205 as ‘207’; var: p. 156 unnumbered].

*Contents:*

†1: title (verso blank). †2<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory letter: 'ADMODVM | REVERENDO ILLVS- | TRI ET AMPLISSIMO VI- | RO DOMINO IACOBO CHIMAR- | RHAEO S. R. E. PROTONOTARIO [...] *Domino* ☞ | *Mecænati suo mul-* [var: 'mo-'] | *tũ obferuãdo.*', dated on †4<sup>v</sup>: 'Datum Coloniae ipfis calend. | Septemb. Anno M. DC. II.' [var: 'Datum Coloniae ipfis | calend. Septemb. Anno M. DC. II.'] and signed '*Reuerend. ☞ Illust. Amplitud. tuæ | Humillimus cliens | GERARDVS GREVENBRVCH.*' †5<sup>r</sup> (missigned '†4'): dedicatory poem: 'AD CORNELIVM SCHONAE- | VM GOVDANVM, GYMNASIARCHAM | Harlemenfem, olim præcepto- | rem fuum.' (38 ll. 'C<sup>2</sup>*Orneli Batavæ moderator fide iuventæ:*') signed on †5<sup>v</sup>: 'Quod voveo, & auguror, | PETRVS SCHRIVERIVS | Harlemenfis.' and followed by an orn. †6<sup>r</sup> (missigned '†5'): dedicatory poem: 'AD CORNELIVM | SCHONÆVM | COMICVM.' (14 ll. 'A<sup>2</sup>*Fer, Aristophanes, pallæq<sub>3</sub> repertor honestæ*') signed 'T. Schrevelius.' and followed by an orn. †6<sup>v</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'CL. D. CORNELIO | SCHONÆO | GOVDANO. | ODEN' [sic] (20 ll. 'V<sup>2</sup>*Anus Deorum cultor, ☞ impiè*') signed 'Pangebāt | Arnoldus Mylius, Arn. F. | Birckmannus.' †7<sup>r</sup>: commendatory poem: 'ADOLPHVS SCHVL- | CKENIVS GELDRIENSIS | PHILOSOPHIÆ IN ACADEMIA | Colonienfi, Gymnafij Montis | Profeffor, benevolo | Lectori.' (18 ll. 'Q<sup>2</sup>*Visquis ftudes imbuerementem moribus,*'). †7<sup>v</sup>: commendatory poem: 'EIDEM. | TERENCEVS CHRI- | STIANVS. | ΑΝΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΣ. | ΕΝ ΤΥΤΑΡΕ ΣΙΝΥΣ | ΧΡΙΣΤΙ.' (11 ll. 'Q<sup>2</sup>*Visquis flagranti nifu, vigiliq<sub>3</sub> labore*') ending with an orn. †8<sup>r</sup>: 'ERRATA QV AEDAM [sic] IN HOC LIBEL- | lo sic emendanda funt,' [errata listed between p. 2 (sig. A1<sup>v</sup>) and p. 219 (sig. O6<sup>r</sup>)]. †8<sup>v</sup>: 'SVSANNA | COMOEDIA SACRA,'. A1<sup>r</sup>-Q8<sup>v</sup>: the same as in No. 29a above.

*Notes:*

The circumstances surrounding the printings of the title-leaf gathering of the 1602 Cologne edition of the second part of Schonaeus's *Terentius Christianus* are not entirely clear to me.

From archival evidence it can be inferred that a number of copies with a title-gathering including the author's dedication to the Haarlem burgomasters and magistrates (see Nos 29a-29b above) was put on the market already in about July 1602<sup>64</sup>.

<sup>64</sup> The entry in the Haarlem treasurer's accounts relating to this edition (see the notes to No. 29a above and footnote 63) dates from late June or early July 1602, as can be inferred from the surrounding entries. On the evidence of this entry we have reason to assume that there was actual priority of sale.

Therefore we can perhaps speculate that the printer, presumably by design, underprinted this title-gathering, because he hoped shortly to re-issue the sheets of the text of the plays with some different preliminaries, i.e. with a dedication of his own to Iacobus Chimarraeus, his 'Maecenas'. For this reason he kept the type-pages of the title-gathering standing, and at a later date, probably in September 1602 (see the date of the new dedication), he replaced the authorial dedication by that of his own which, however, was a more lengthy one and, moreover, unsigned. Consequently, the type-pages containing the laudatory poems and errata had to be re-arranged in the formes in order to restore correct imposition. In this process it was omitted, however, to make corrections in the (now faulty) signatures.

The resettings (the wording of the errata, moreover, differs slightly in the two settings) and variations, such as the slight shift in position of the ornament on †5<sup>v</sup> (missigned '†4<sup>v</sup>') and the original ornament (see No. 29a above) being substituted for the former one in †7<sup>v</sup>, can be presumed to restore type-pages having been tied up between impressions or pried in the handling (see also the notes to Nos 18b and 29b above).

The cancellation of the original authorial dedication of the plays to the Haarlem magistrates and its replacement by the new printer's dedication to Iacobus Chimarraeus result, I think, from pre-publication planning, reflecting two publishing efforts and resulting in two consciously planned publishing units (with states within them produced by variations in respect to ideal copy).

For the printer it was obviously very important to dedicate, purportedly before copies of the second part of the *Terentius Christianus* were put on the market<sup>65</sup>, this 'foetus' of his printing house to his 'Maecenas', not only as a recognition of the latter's merits towards him but mainly as a consequence of his own desire to place the book under the patronage of a powerful 'Patronus' in order that it should be protected against jealous criticism.

In this respect he manifestly wished to follow in the footsteps of Cornelius Loos(aeus) Callidius who, in 1591, had edited the first part of the *Christian Terence* under the auspices of Philip and Ferdinand, Counts Palatine of the Rhine, Dukes of Upper- and Lower-Bavaria etc. (see No. 14 above).

On the title-page there is variance in type-setting of the last line of text indicating the privilege by the emperor (see Pls 37-38).

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 209.

<sup>65</sup> Although the printer would have us believe that he dedicated the second part of the *Christian Terence* to Iacobus Chimarraeus before its publication, we may certainly infer from the above-mentioned collateral evidence (see footnote 64) that copies with a title-gathering including the author's dedication already had been put on the market before copies with the printer's dedication went on sale.

As regards the title of the book, in his dedication the printer informs us that it seemed preferable to give this second collection of six plays the same name as the first one, in order that it should be, as it were, the second part of the same 'Terentius Christianus' (sig. †3<sup>v</sup>).

*Copies :*

Admont, Stift, 86/332; Amsterdam, UB-GU, 1177 H 36\*; Augsburg, SStB, NL 997\*; Bamberg, SB, L.r.r.o. 111\*; Birmingham, UL, 16.S353; Cambridge, Queens', L.18.16; Cambridge (Mass.), HUL, \*NC5.Sch652.592se; Kamenz, Lessing, 6422; Katowice, Śląska, 230195 I; Košice, SVK, T 26; Leningrad, PB, 6.4.4.157; Leyden, UB, 730 F 16<sup>2</sup>\*) (blank Q8 missing); Luzern, ZB, C3.686.8; Madrid, BN, T/7789; Munich, OFM, 12° A.c. 41<sub>2</sub>; Münster, UB, X 3650\*; Newcastle upon Tyne, UL, Bradshaw E 15.4-SCH; Regensburg, SB, Lat. rec. 114\*; The Hague, KB, 1713 D 18\*; Toruń, Główna, Ob.6.II.248; Trier, StB, G 757 8\*; Tübingen, Stift, Dc 229; Urbana (Ill.), UL, Neo-Latin Plays; Wrocław, BU, 467740.

## 30 LUCUBRATIONUM PARS TERTIA.

Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1603.

*Collation :*

8° (31 ll., 127 × 67 mm. [C2<sup>r</sup>]): A-V<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (–A1,3,4,5, D3, G4, H4, I3, N3, Q3, R4, S5, V4; L2 signed 'L3', L4 signed 'K4')], 160 leaves, pp, 1-3 4-5 6-11 12-316 317-320 [misnumbering 32 as '23', 68 as '52', 78 as '76', (*var*: 105 as '5'), 153 as '137', 156 as '144', 160 as '130', 165 as '159', (*var*: 166 as '168'), 172 as '161', 189 as '159', 198-99 as '197-98', 212 as '182', 225 as '252', 254-55 as '238-39', 313 as '293'].

*Contents :*

A1: title (verso blank). A2<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory letter: 'REVERENDO, | D. DOMINO TIMAN- | NO A WOV, | RHODIANO- | RVM DOMINORVM | APVD HARLEMENSES | Præfuli, | *Cornelius Schonæus S.*', dated on A3<sup>r</sup>: 'Harlemi,ipfis Calen- | dis Ianuarij, anno | 1603.' and followed by an orn. A3<sup>v</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'AD CORNELIVM | SCHONÆVM, PRAECEP- | TOREM OLIM SVVM.' (26 ll. 'D<sup>2</sup>*Vm mea mens varijs mærorũ quaffa procellis*') signed 'Atque hæc quidem præfiscini dicta funto | á PETRO SCRIVERIO | Harlemenfi.' A4<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'EPIGRAMMA | IN TERTIAM LVCVBRATIO- | num Cornelij Schonæi partem.' (20 ll. 'F<sup>2</sup>*Esta coronatis niteant aulæa theatris,*') signed 'Theodorus Schrevelius.' A4<sup>v</sup>: 'BAPTISTES | SACRA, ET NOVA | TRAGICOMOEDIA.' A5<sup>r</sup>: 'ARGVMENTVM IN BAPTIS- | ten,Carminе heroico redditum.' (17 ll. 'I<sup>2</sup>*LLE salutiferi vocalis buccina Regis,*') signed 'Theodorus Schreueleius.' On D3<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' D3<sup>v</sup>: 'DYSCOLI | COMOEDIA NOVA.' ending on F5<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' On F5<sup>v</sup>: 'PSEVDOSTRATIOTÆ. | FABVLA LVDICRA.' ending on H8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' II<sup>r</sup>: 'CVNAE, |

FABVLA LVDICRA.' ending on L3<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' L3<sup>v</sup>: 'VITVLVS, | FABVLA LVDICRA.' ending on N7<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' N7<sup>v</sup>: 'LIBER ELEGiarVM.' ending on Q8<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by a group of type orns. Q8<sup>v</sup>: 'LIBER | EPIGRAMMATVM.', introduced by a dedicatory letter: 'PROBITATE, ATQVE ERVDITONE | INSIGNI, EVGENIO PEREBOMIO, | *Goudano, Cornelius Schonaeus S.*' (Q8<sup>v</sup>-R1<sup>r</sup>) and ending on V6<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.', followed by Schonaeus's *symbolum*: 'NvLLVM SIMVLATVM DIVTVRNVM.' V7<sup>r</sup>-V8<sup>v</sup>: blank.

#### Notes:

From a letter which Schonaeus wrote to his former pupil and friend Pieter Henricksz. Schrijver (i.e. Petrus Sc(h)riverius), who was then living 'op Steenschuer' at Leyden, on 16 May 1603 we know that he had sent the copy-text of this third part of his *Lucubrationes* to Grevenbroich in Cologne the previous week<sup>66</sup>.

From two more letters from Schonaeus to Schriverius in the same manuscript collection it becomes clear that Schriverius wrote the laudatory poem, which is prefixed to this 1603 Cologne edition of Schonaeus's plays, sometime between 22 September 1602 and 31 March 1603.

Possibly the text of the farces *Pseudostratigotae*, *Cunae*, and *Vitulus*, as well as the texts of the books of elegies and epigrams, were set from a copy of the 1599 Haarlem-Amsterdam edition of the second part of the plays by Schonaeus (= No. 25), which had been corrected in places by the author and to which additions in manuscript had been made by him. However, only a critical edition of the plays, elegies, and epigrams will throw more light on the relationship of these two editions to each other.

Because Schonaeus had dedicated this third part of his *Lucubrationes* to his close friend Timan van Wou, Commander of the Knights of St John at Haarlem, we find from this edition onwards no longer a separate dedication to him prefixed to the book of elegies (cf. Nos 16a and 25 above).

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 209.

#### Copies:

Admont, Stift, 86/332; Aschaffenburg, Stift, W-156; Augsburg, SStB, NL 996\* (blank V7,8 missing) and NL 997\*; Bamberg, SB, L.r.r.o. 111\*; Birmingham, UL, 16.S353; Bologna, BCA, 7.S.IV.50; Cambridge, Queens', L.18.16; Cambridge (Mass.), HUL, \*NC5.Sch652.592se; Eichstätt, UB, N II 824\*; Frankfurt/M., StUB, KL 741/500\* (blank V7,8 missing); Halle (Saale), MB, W 3.44\*; Halle (Saale), ULB, AB 67  $\frac{11}{\text{e},7}$ ; Heiligenkreuz, Stift, Gg IV c; Kamenz, Lessing, 6422;

Katowice, Śląska, 230195 I; Košice, SVK, T 26; Leningrad, BAH,  $\frac{\text{XIV Ba}}{\text{XV}^*_{3}}$ ;

<sup>66</sup> The Hague, KB, MS 121 D 2/43: '... Exemplar meum superiori septimanâ misi Coloniam, cum id typographus efflagitaret'.



Leningrad, PB, 6.10.38<sup>1-3</sup> and 6.4.4.12; Luzern, ZB, C3.686.8; Madrid, BN, T/7789; Munich, BSB, P.o.lat. 1389\*; Munich, OFM, 12° A.c. 41<sub>(3)</sub>; Münster, UB, X 3650\*; Neresheim, OSB, G 887<sub>(5)</sub>\*; Newcastle upon Tyne, UL, Bradshaw E 15.4-SCH; Oxford, Bodleian, 8° G 61 Th.\*; Prague, SK, 9 H 78; Ravenna, Classense, F.A.16.6.F<sup>3</sup>; Regensburg, SB, Lat. rec. 114\*; Stuttgart, WLB, fr.D.8° 6391; Trier, StB, G 757 8°\*; Tübingen, Stift, Dc 229; Urbana (Ill.), UL, Neo-Latin Plays; Wrocław, BU, 467740.

**31a** TERENCE CHRISTIANUS SEU COMOEDIAE SACRAE SEX.

Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1604.

*Collation:*

8° (31 ll., 128 × 71 mm. [C6<sup>r</sup>]): †-2†<sup>8</sup> A-C<sup>8</sup> D<sup>6</sup> E<sup>10</sup> F-L<sup>8</sup> M<sup>4</sup> N-2A<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (+ E6,8,9,10; - †1, M4,5; var: B4 signed '4B')], 204 leaves, pp. [32], 1 2-60 [var: p. 40 unnumbered]; <sup>2</sup>1 2-68; <sup>3</sup>1-56 [misnumbering 42 as '24', 53 as '35', 56 as '58']; <sup>4</sup>1-61 62-64; <sup>5</sup>1 2-63 64 [misnumbering 35 as '55']; <sup>6</sup>1-62 63-64 [misnumbering 36 as '56'].

*Contents:*

†1: title (verso blank). †2<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory letter: 'SERENISSIMIS D D. | COMITIBVS PAL. RHENI | SVPERIORIS INFERIORISQVE | BAVARIAE DVCIBVS, REVERENDISS. | Philippo, Episcopo Ratisbon. Præposito | Metrop. Colon. ac Ferdinando Præposi- | to Argent. &c. Fratribus Principi- | bus lectissimis felicita- | tem P.', dated on †6<sup>r</sup>: 'Agrippinae Coloniae. Anno instauratione sa- | lutis, supra mille quingentos, nonagesimo | primo. Calendis Iulij. | (\*.\*)' and signed 'Sereniss. Celsitud. V. V. | Cornelius Loofæus.' †6<sup>v</sup>: foreword [by Cornelius Loosaeus Callidius]: 'PRAEFATIO. | CANDIDO LECTO- | RI, PVKITATIS ET ELEGANTIAE | Latini sermonis studiofo: & in primis Gymnasiiar- | chis, Rectoribus, Didascalis, cæterisq; stu- | diosa pubis formatoribus S.' ending on 2†6<sup>v</sup>. On 2†6<sup>v</sup>: commendatory poem: 'OCTASTICHON FRID. HVL- | SII DARTHENI, IN CASTAM | Terentij renati linguam.' (8 ll. 'B<sup>2</sup>Is genitum quis te non dixerit esse Terenti?'). 2†7<sup>r</sup>: commendatory poem: 'IN TERENCE CHRISTIANVM | IACOBI LOM, RVRAEMVNDANI.' (14 ll. 'Q<sup>2</sup>Valiter infano Iuuenis lasciuus amore') followed by two other commendatory poems: 'ALIVD EIVSDEM.' (4 ll. 'Induerat corpus Latiali veste Menandri') and 'TETRASTICHON C. LOOS IN | Terentij renouati pietatem.' (4 ll. 'Aethiopis pellis cum fit tibi adempta Terenti,'). 2†7<sup>v</sup>-2†8<sup>v</sup>: blank. A1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns enclosed by rules] | 'TERENTII |

CHRISTIANI. | NAAMAN.' ending on D6<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' E1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns enclosed by rules] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | TOBÆVS.' ending on H8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' I1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns enclosed by rules] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | NEHEMIAS.' ending on M4<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' N1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns enclosed by rules] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI, | SAVLVS.' ending on Q7<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by an orn. Q7<sup>v</sup>-Q8<sup>v</sup>: blank. R1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI, | IOSEPHVS' ending on V8<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' V8<sup>v</sup>: blank. X1<sup>r</sup>: || [band of type orns] || 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI, | IVDITHA.' ending on 2A7<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' 2A8: blank.

*Notes :*

The first two sheets, containing the preliminaries, and the plays, viz. *Naaman* (except for pp. 20-25 and 40-47), *Tobaeus* (except for pp. 3-29 and 38-39), *Nehemias* (except for pp. 41-42), *Saulus* (except for pp. 17-26, 40-41, 52-55, and 59-61), *Iosephus* (except for pp. 21-22 and 26-27), and *Iuditha*, are a paginal resetting from the 1599 Cologne edition (= No. 23). See, however, also the notes to No. 15 above.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 210.

*Copies :*

Bamberg, SB, L.r.r.o. 111\*; Cambridge, Queens', L.18.16; Cambridge (Mass.), HUL, \*NC5.Sch652.592se; Kamenz, Lessing, 6422; Košice, SVK, T 26 (title-leaf missing); Madrid, BN, T/7789; Newcastle upon Tyne, UL, Bradshaw E 15.4-SCH; Oxford, Bodleian, 8° G 61 Th.\* (in this copy sheet E is wrongly folded and not tucked inside the fold E1.10 which, after having been originally imposed with D and then being detached, was placed before gathering E2-E9 instead of wrapped around it); Regensburg, SB, Lat. rec. 114\*; Regensburg, TT, Ma. 1274\* (in this copy F(i) has been laid on the press the wrong way round; blank 2A8 is missing).

The copies in Münster, UB, X 3650\*; Stuttgart, WLB, fr.D.8° 6393\*; Urbana (Ill.), UL, Neo-Latin Plays; and Wrocław, BU, 467740, contain the same preliminary gatherings †-2†, and the same sheets R-2A, but sheets A-Q originate from the 1599 Cologne edition described above under No. 23.

Other copies containing the same title-leaf gathering but not checked: Admont, Stift, 86/332; Katowice, Śląska, 230195 I; and Leningrad, PB, 6.4.4.12 (? , title-leaf missing and incomplete).

**31b** TERENCE CHRISTIANUS SEU COMOEDIAE SACRAE SEX.

Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1604.

*Another issue.*

*Collation :*

8° (31 ll., 128 × 71 mm. [C6<sup>r</sup>]): †<sup>8</sup> A-C<sup>8</sup> D<sup>6</sup> E<sup>10</sup> F-L<sup>8</sup> M<sup>4</sup> N-2A<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (+ E6,8,9,10; - †1,3, M4,5; var: B4 signed '4B')], 196 leaves, pp. [16], 1 2-60 [var: p. 40 unnumbered]; <sup>2</sup>1 2-68; <sup>3</sup>1-56 [misnumbering 42 as '24', 53 as '35', 56 as '58']; <sup>4</sup>1-61 62-64; <sup>5</sup>1 2-63 64 [misnumbering 35 as '55']; <sup>6</sup>1-62 63-64 [misnumbering 36 as '56'].

*Contents :*

†1: title (verso blank). †2<sup>r</sup>: foreword [by Cornelius Loosaeus Callidius]: 'PRÆFATIO. | CANDIDO LECTO- | RI, PVRITATIS ET ELEGANTIAE LA- | tini fermonis studioſo: & in primis Gymnaſiarchis, | Rectoribus, Didactis, cæterisque studioſæ | pubis formatoribus S.' ending on †8<sup>v</sup> with a type orn. below. A1<sup>r</sup>-2A<sup>8</sup><sup>v</sup>: the same as in No. 31a above.

*Note :*

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 210.

*Copies :*

Amsterdam, UB-GU, 1177 H 36\* (the sequence of the plays in this rebound copy is: *Naaman*, *Iosephus*, *Tobaeus*, *Nehemias*, *Iuditha*, and *Saulus*. In the play *Iosephus* p. 49 is damaged with a very small loss of text and the loss of sig. VI in the direction-line; in the play *Tobaeus* pp. 59 and 60 are slightly damaged with some loss of text and the loss of the numeral 4 of sig. H4 in the direction-line; in the *Nehemias* page numerals 47 and 48 are missing because a piece of the leaf was torn off with some loss of text on p. 47); Birmingham, UL, 16.S353; Frankfurt/M., StUB, KL 741/500\*; Leningrad, BAH, <sup>XIV Ba</sup>/<sub>XV\*<sub>1</sub></sub>.

The copies in Amsterdam, UB-GU, 1083 C 30\*; Amsterdam, UB-VU, XH. 05588\*; and Mannheim, UB, Sch 70/111\* (blank Q8 missing), contain the same 1604 title-leaf gathering but sheets A-2A have been printed in 1620 (see No. 46 below). However, to take advantage of some old remaining sheets †, printed in 1604, the printer sold some copies of the original sheets of 1620 mixed up with the old title-leaf gathering of 1604.

In two of the copies examined (Amsterdam, UB-VU, XH. 05588 and Mannheim, UB, Sch 70/111) leaves E2-E9 originate from the edition described above under No. 31a and their numbering series is therefore devoid of errors.

The copies in Besançon, BM, 204 928 (of this copy only a microfilm of the foreword and the beginning and end of each individual play was available to me), and St Gallen, Vadiana, Jd 1980\*, contain likewise this 1604 title-leaf gathering but sheets A-2A appear to have been printed in 1608 (see No. 35a below).

Other copies apparently containing the same title-leaf gathering but not checked: Bologna, BCA, 7.S.IV.50; Leningrad, PB, 6.10.38<sup>1-3</sup>; and Warsaw, BU, 17.1.5.39.

## 32a THERENTII CHRISTIANI PARS SECUNDA.

Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1606.

*Collation :*

8° (31 ll., 128 × 71 mm. [E1<sup>v</sup>]): †<sup>8</sup> A-Q<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (–†1,3, K4)], 136 leaves, pp. [16], 1-254 255-256 [misnumbering 168 as '186', 173 as '175'; var: p. 63 unnumbered].

*Contents :*

†1: title (verso blank). †2<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory letter: 'HONORATIS- | SIMIS PRVDENTIS- | *SIMISQVE HARLEMIANÆ CIVITA-* | *tis* | *Confulibus, reliquisq<sub>3</sub> Magistratibus* | *Cornelius Schonæus S.*,' dated on †4<sup>r</sup>: 'Harlemi, ipſis | Calendis, [*sic*: no month mentioned] Anno 1602.' †4<sup>v</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'AD CORNELIVM SCHO- | NÆVVM GOVDANVM GYMASIAR- [*sic*] | cham Harlemenſem, olim prae- | ceptorem fuum.' (38 ll. '*C<sup>2</sup>O.neli* [*sic*] *Batauae moderator fide iuuentæ:* ') signed on †5<sup>r</sup>: 'Quod voveo, & auguror. | PETRVS SCRIVERIVS | Harlemenſis.' and followed by an orn. †5<sup>v</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'AD CORNELIVM | SCHONÆVM | COMICVM.' (14 ll. '*A<sup>2</sup>Fer, Ariſtophanes, pallæq<sub>3</sub> repertor honeſtæ*') signed 'T. Schrevelius.' and followed by an orn. †6<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'CL. D. CORNELIO | SCHONÆO | GOVDANO. | ODE.' (20 ll. '*V<sup>2</sup>Anus Deorum cultor, & impiè*') signed 'Pangebāt | Arnoldus Mylius, Arn. F. | Birckmannus.' †6<sup>v</sup>: commendatory poem: 'ADOLPHVS SCHV- | LCKENIVS GELDRIENSIS | PHILOSOPHIÆ IN ACADEMIA | Colonienſi, Gymnaſij Montis | Profefſor beneuolo | Lectori.' (18 ll. '*Q<sup>2</sup>Visquis ſtudes imbuere mentem moribus,*'). †7<sup>r</sup>: commendatory poem: 'EIDEM. | THERENTIVS CHRI- | STIANVS. | ANAΓPAMMATIŒMOΣ. | EN TVTARE SINVS | CHRISTI.' (11 ll. '*Q<sup>2</sup>Visquis flagranti niſu, vigiliq<sub>3</sub> labore*') ending with an orn. †7<sup>v</sup>-†8<sup>r</sup>: blank. †8<sup>v</sup>: 'SVSANNA | COMÆDIA SACRA,' ending on C7<sup>v</sup> with a type orn. below. C8<sup>r</sup>: 'DANIEL. | COMOEDIA SACRA.' ending on F5<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' On F5<sup>r</sup>: 'TRIVMPHVS. | CHRISTI. | COMOEDIA SACRA.' ending on H8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' I1<sup>r</sup>: 'TYPHLVS. | COMOEDIA SACRA | ET NOVA.' ending on L4<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' L4<sup>v</sup>: 'PENTECOSTE | COMOEDIA SACRA | ET NOVA.' ending on N8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by a type orn. O1<sup>r</sup>: 'ANANIAS. | COMOEDIA SACRA | ET NOVA.' ending on Q7<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by an orn. Q8: blank.

*Notes :*

From the presence of a good deal of identical manifest errors, it appears that the text of the title-leaf gathering of this 1606 Cologne edition was set from

a copy of the 1602 Cologne edition containing the original author's dedication to the Haarlem magistrates (see especially No. 29a above).

Although the printer had decided, in 1602, to dedicate this second part of Schonaeus's *Christian Terence* to his patron Iacobus Chimarrhaeus, it was presumably the fact that the author was still alive in 1606 which prevented him from cancelling as early as this year the authorial dedication definitively, as he eventually did in 1612 after Schonaeus had died on 23 November 1611 (see No. 40 below).

Since the printer intended both dedications to appear, it is not difficult to envisage him very seriously planning two issues (see also No. 32b below), as he had done in 1602. However, it fits in completely with the printer's policy to assume that the number of copies with the dedicatory letter from the author to the Haarlem magistrates must have been small; and indeed this is also indicated by the number of preserved copies containing this dedication.

In the text of the plays there is only some partial paginal resetting from the 1602 Cologne edition (= Nos 29a-29c). See, however, also the notes to No. 15 above.

For the press-variations on sig. II<sup>r</sup>, see the contents list in No. 32b below.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 209.

*Copies :*

Bologna, BCA, 7.S.IV.50; Florence, BNC, 21.7.216; Frankfurt/M., StUB, KL 741/500\*; Villeneuve d'Ascq, BI, 93.998; Vilnius, Mokslinė, III 5710/2.

**32b** TERENTII CHRISTIANI PARS SECUNDA.

Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1606.

*Another issue.*

*Collation :*

8° (31 ll., 128 × 71 mm. [E1<sup>v</sup>]): †<sup>8</sup> A-Q<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (– †1,4, K4)], 136 leaves, pp. [16], 1-254 255-256 [misnumbering 168 as '186', 173 as '175'; var: p. 63 unnumbered].

*Contents :*

†1: title (verso blank). †2<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory letter: 'ADMODVM | REVERENDO, IL- | LVSTRI ET AMPLISSIMO | VIRO DOMINO IACOBO CHIMAR- | rhæo S. R. E. Protonotario, [...] Domino & Mæ- | cenati fuo multum ob- | feruando.', dated on †4<sup>r</sup>: 'Datum Coloniae Anno | incarnationis Dominicae, Millesimo, | Sexcentesimo sexto, ipso festo Nati- | uitatis Mariae Virginis.' and signed 'Reuerend. & Illust. Amplitud. tuae | Humillimus cliens, | Gerardus Greuenbruch.' †4<sup>v</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'AD CORNELIVM SCHO- | NÆVM GOVDANVM GYMNASIAR- | cham Harlemenfem, olim præ- | ceptorem fuum.' (38 ll.

‘C<sup>2</sup>Orneli Batauæ moderator fide iuuentæ :’) signed on †5<sup>r</sup>: ‘Quod voveo, & auguror, | PETRVS SCRIVERIVS | Harlemenfis.’ and followed by an orn. †5<sup>v</sup>: dedicatory poem: ‘AD CORNELIVM | SCHONÆVM | COMICVM.’ (14 ll. ‘A<sup>2</sup>Fer, Aristophanes, pallæq<sub>3</sub> repertor honestæ’) signed ‘T. Schrevelius.’ and followed by an orn. †6<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory poem: ‘CL. D. CORNELIO | SCHONÆO | GOVDANO. | ODE.’ (20 ll. ‘V<sup>2</sup>Anus Deorum cultor, & impiè’) signed ‘Pangebāt | Arnoldus Mylius, Arn. F. | Birckmannus.’ †6<sup>v</sup>: commendatory poem: ‘ADOLPHVS SCHVLC- | KENIVS GELDRIENSIS | PHILOSOPHIÆ IN ACADEMIA | Colonienfi, Gymnafij Montis | Profeffor, beneuolo | Lectori.’ (18 ll. ‘Q<sup>2</sup>Visquis ftudes imbuere mentem moribus.’). †7<sup>r</sup>: commendatory poem: ‘EIDEM. | TERENTIVS CHRI- | STIANVS. | ΑΝΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΣ. | ΕΝ ΤΥΤΑΡΕ ΣΙΝΒ | ΧΡΙΣΤΙ.’ (11 ll. ‘Q<sup>2</sup>Visquis flagranti nifu, vigiliq<sub>3</sub> labore’) ending with an orn. †7<sup>v</sup>-†8<sup>r</sup>: blank. †8<sup>v</sup>: ‘SVSANNA | COMOEDIA SACRA.’ A1<sup>r</sup>-Q8<sup>v</sup>: the same as in No. 32a above, but I1<sup>r</sup> has press-variations: ‘TYPHLVS. | COMOEDIA SACRA [var: ‘SACRA.’] | ET [var: ‘ET’] NOVA.’

#### Notes :

In order to dedicate, as he had done in 1602 (see No. 29c above), this second part of Schonaeus’s *Terentius Christianus* to his patron Iacobus Chimarraeus, the printer took the type-pages containing the author’s dedication out of the formes and replaced them by a same number of type-pages containing the dedication of his own. Unlike the authorial dedication, which was the same as that of 1602, this dedication by the printer was, in comparison with that of 1602, totally revised. It therefore now bears the date of 8 September 1606 (sig. †4<sup>r</sup>) instead of that of 1 September 1602 (see No. 29c above, sig. †4<sup>v</sup>).

Except for the dedicatory letter, the same type-pages have been utilized in the title-gathering as in No. 32a above, but what resetting there is can be presumed to correct obvious errors and to restore type pied in the handling (although it is of course possible that there are also some deliberate and intentional alterations).

In my opinion there is good reason to believe that in the present case, in contrast with 1602 (see the notes to No. 29c above), the alterations in the preliminaries resulting from pre-publication planning were made before any public sale, and that the sale of copies of both issues was simultaneous.

For the printer’s device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 209.

#### Copies :

Antwerp, Ruusbroec, 4103 K 17\*; Besançon, BM, 204 928; Cambridge, Trinity, III.1.116\*; Edinburgh, NL, Gray 1159\*; Edinburgh, UL, W\* 31.23\*; Emden, BGK, Philos 8° 368\*; Florence, BNC, 3.5.344; Gdańsk, PAN, Cf 8768 8°; Grenoble, BM, F 3572; Halle (Saale), HBFS, 158 H 4; Heiligenkreuz, Stift,

Gg IV c; Leningrad, PB, 6.10.38<sup>1-3</sup>; Manchester, UL, Sp. Coll. 879.242 S8 (2); Milan, Braidense, TT.2.13; Philadelphia (Pa.), LC, Sev Scho christ church 213; Prague, PNP, AD XIII 1/2; Reggio Emilia, BM, 16-H-715; Rehburg-Loccum, Kloster, Lit. 3010; Riga, Valsts, R W1 109 (title-leaf missing and very incomplete); Solothurn, ZB, QE 138; St Gallen, Vadiana, Jd 1980\*; Szczecin, BP, XVII.8238.I; Trier, StB, 5/483 8\*; Vienna, Theresiana, 22305\*; Warsaw, BU, 17.1.5.39; Wrocław, BU, 469647.

33 TERENCE CHRISTIANUS SIVE COMOEDIAE DUAE [TOBAEUS, IUDITHA], PSEUDOSTRATIOTES.

London, An unidentified printer for the Stationers' Company, 1607.

*Collation:*

8° (30 ll., 122 × 70 mm. [A8<sup>r</sup>]): A-M<sup>8</sup> [\$4 signed (–A1)], 96 leaves, pp. 1-2 3-190 191-192 [misnumbering 41 as '43', 84 as '48', 103 as '107', 109 as '119', 112 as '122', 119 as '129', 176 as '177', 188 as '118'; misprinting 184 as 'F84'].

*Contents:*

A1<sup>r</sup>: title. A1<sup>v</sup>: foreword [by the editor]: '*Ad Lectorem.*' On A1<sup>v</sup>: [TOBÆVS] ending on E6<sup>r</sup>: '*FINIS.*' E6<sup>v</sup>: 'IVDITHA,' ending on I7<sup>r</sup>: '*FINIS.*' I7<sup>v</sup>: 'PSEVDOSTRATI- | OTAE, FABVLA IOCO- | fā, atque ludicra.' ending on M7<sup>v</sup>: '*FINIS.*' and followed by a double row of type orns. M8: blank.

*Notes:*

A paginal resetting from the 1601 London edition (= No. 28).

NSTC 21821.4, erroneously stating that the imprint runs 'ex typ. Soc. Bibliopolarum'<sup>67</sup>, queries John Windet as the printer of this edition.

I question the validity of this suggestion and, moreover, I am hesitant in assigning the edition to the press of a specific printer, although the arrangement of type ornaments on the title-page might help in narrowing the range of possible printers. The type ornaments at the end are ones ordinarily associated with Edward Allde when he printed ballads, but no doubt other printers had them<sup>68</sup>.

<sup>67</sup> This will be corrected, as Miss K.F. Pantzer wrote me, in the *Addenda* in vol. 3 of the STC revision.

In the same letter she informed me that querying Windet as the printer of this edition was the suggestion of F.S. Ferguson.

<sup>68</sup> This information is from Miss K.F. Pantzer.

The type ornaments at the end (p. 190) are known to have been among the printing materials of such printers as James Roberts and Thomas Dawson. See A.F. Allison, *Thomas Lodge 1558-1625: A Bibliographical Catalogue of the Early Editions (To the end of the 17th century)* (Folkestone and London, 1973) [= *Pall Mall Bibliographies* 2], p. 73, Pl. 37, and id., *Robert Greene 1558-1592: A Bibliographical*

As far as the type of this edition is concerned, later in the sixteenth century and in the seventeenth century the types used generally were in the shops of so many printers that it seems hardly possible to make an identification on their basis alone.

For a note on the English editions of two of Schonaeus's biblical dramas under the title *Terentius Christianus* and his farce *Pseudostratotes*, see the notes to No. 17 above.

*Copies :*

Cambridge, St Catharine's, G VI 31\*; Maldon, Plume, shelf-mark unknown (M1 missing; this copy was available to me in the form of photocopies); Oxford, Worcester, x.a.6.23; Urbana (Ill.), UL, Neo-Latin Plays (2 copies).

**34a** FABULA COMICA.

Zwolle, Zacharias Heyns, 1607.

*Collation :*

4° (35 ll., 165 × 108 mm. [E2<sup>r</sup>]): π<sup>2</sup> A-E<sup>2</sup> [\$2 signed], 12 leaves, unnumbered [pp. 1-24].

*Contents :*

π1 : title (verso blank). π2<sup>r</sup> : blazon engraved in copper with the motto '*Diligentia parit artis Anno 1607.*' π2<sup>v</sup> : 'Actorum Nomina.' A1<sup>r</sup> : 'FABVLA COMICA.' ending on E2<sup>v</sup> : 'FINIS.'

*Notes :*

For a description of the blazon engraved in copper and the inserted folding plate (copper engraving) which is to be found in a few copies only, see BB, III (1964), pp. 617<sup>b</sup>-18<sup>a</sup> <sup>69</sup>.

In most of the copies traced the Latin text is followed by [in gothic and roman type] || [band of type orns] || 'Voor-reden ende tuffchen-fspraken van | des Rectoors Schonæi Latijns fpel.' or by [in gothic type] || [band of type orns] || 'Voor-reden ende tuffchen-fspraken van | 'voorgaende Latijns fpel.'

*Collation :*

4° : E<sup>6</sup> [\$5 signed], 6 leaves, unnumbered [pp. 1-12].

For the contents list, see BB, III (1964), p. 618<sup>a</sup>.

No doubt the play was written by Schonaeus in order to be performed

*Catalogue of the Early Editions in English (To 1640)* ([Folkestone], Dawson, [1975]) [= *Pall Mall Bibliographies* 4], No. 54 (title-page on microfiche) (hereafter referred to as Allison, *Robert Greene*).

<sup>69</sup> The inserted folding plate is present in, e.g., the Amsterdam UB-GU copy (shelf-mark : 976 B 3<sup>3</sup>), between f. π2<sup>v</sup> and sig. A1<sup>r</sup>, and in the Leyden MNL (in the UB) copy (shelf-mark : 1497 C 35<sup>2</sup>), between sig. E2<sup>v</sup> and sig. E1<sup>r</sup>.



on the stage by his pupils on the occasion of the so-called 'Landjuweel' (i.e. a splendid festival of various Chambers of Rhetoric), which was organized by the Haarlem Chamber 'Trou moet blycken' and held at Haarlem in October 1606<sup>70</sup>.

Of the *Fabula Comica* a manuscript copy is preserved, but only the title-page (f. 2<sup>r</sup>), the names of the actors of the play (f. 2<sup>v</sup>), and the corrections made in the text are in Schonaeus's hand<sup>71</sup>.

The traced copies of the play show incontrovertibly that the *Fabula Comica* was intended by Zacharias Heyns to form the third part of a volume containing in its ideal order the *Const-thoonende Ivweel* and the *Haerlems Ivweel* (or: *Juweel*) as its first and second part. Both these works were also printed by Heyns at Zwolle in respectively 1607 and 1608, but the latter date might point to the fact that the second work was printed towards the close of the year 1607<sup>72</sup>.

On the title-page and f. π2<sup>r</sup> of various copies there is a slight shift in position of the printer's device and the blazon (both copper engravings), which is a result of later rerunning the half-sheet through the rolling press.

On f. π2<sup>v</sup> of some copies there are, moreover, differences in the punctuation behind the actors' names, of which some exhibit a small variance in type-setting.

<sup>70</sup> For more details about this Haarlem *Landjewel*, see, e.g., Willem Kops, 'Schets eener geschiedenis der rederijkeren', in *Werken van de Maetschappij der Nederlandsche letterkunde te Leyden*, 7 vols (Leyden, 1772-88), II (1774), 213-351 (pp. 282-85); G.A. Fokker, *Geschiedenis der loterijen in de Nederlanden: Eene bijdrage tot de kennis van de zeden en gewoonten der Nederlanders in de XV<sup>e</sup>, XVI<sup>e</sup>, en XVII<sup>e</sup> eeuwen* (Amsterdam, 1862), pp. 76-78 and 200-01 (note 109); Moes-Burger, IV, pp. 257-61; Jhr. O. van Lennep, *Beknopte geschiedenis van „Trou moet blycken” 1503-1922* ([Haarlem], 1922), pp. 8-10; and Simon Koster, *Van schavot tot schouwburg: vijfhonderd jaar toneel in Haarlem* (Haarlem, 1970), pp. 45-46 and 66-81.

<sup>71</sup> GA Haarlem, MS Rijk 61, on loan from the Rijksarchief in Noord-Holland at Haarlem and originating from the Bibliotheca Phillippica. See p. 28, No. 2337 of the *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum in bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps, Bart. A.D. 1837*. (Impressus typis Medio-Montanis mense maio, 1837; reprint, with an Introduction by A.N.L. Munby, London, [1968]), where the manuscript is listed as: 'C. Schoneo [sic] Gondano [sic] Fabula Comica in Commendatione [sic] Edificii [sic] egenis Senibus Harlemi extruendi'.

For the purchase of the manuscript of the *Fabula Comica* made by the Netherlands Government in 1888, see S. Muller Fz., 'De aankoop der Hollandsche handschriften van Sir Thomas Phillipps te Cheltenham', *Bijdragen voor vaderlandsche geschiedenis en oudheidkunde*, Derde reeks, 5 (1889), 104-22 (p. 120) and A.N.L. Munby, 'The Netherlands Government's Purchase of Phillipps Manuscripts in 1888', *Het Boek*, 33 (1958-59), 1-8 (p. 8).

<sup>72</sup> Cf. the date of 1 September 1607 of the dedicatory letter to the 'Staten ende Overste der vereenichde Nederlanden' prefixed to the *Const-thoonende Ivweel* and see also the notes to No. 2 above and No. 53 below.

For the privilege granted by the States General to Zacharias Heyns on 30 November 1606 to be the only printer of the *Const-thoonende Ivweel* for a period of six years, see H.H.P. Rijperman (ed.), *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576 tot 1609*, Volume XIII, 1604-1606 (The Hague, 1957) [= *Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën, [grote serie]*, 101], p. 827.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see BB, III (1964), p. 615<sup>a</sup>; BB, IV (1964), p. 67, No. 1; Briels, p. 318 (right at the bottom); and Moes-Burger, IV, p. 200.

*Copies :*

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 325 C 24; Amsterdam, TKB, 207-I-22; Amsterdam, UB-GU, 976 B 3<sup>3\*</sup>; Amsterdam, UB-VU, XH. 00071<sup>\*</sup>; Amsterdam, VBBB, no shelf-mark; Cambridge (Mass.), HUL, \*H 632-30-32; Chicago (Ill.), Newberry, Case Y 9734.382; Chicago (Ill.), UL, PT 5450.C6 (printer's device on the title-page cut out); Columbus (Ohio), UL, PT 5450 H4; Groningen, UB,  $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$  251<sup>3\*</sup>; Haarlem, StB, 960 B 16<sup>\*</sup>; Leyden, MNL (in the UB), 1497 C 35<sup>2\*</sup>; Leyden, UB, 1366 G 14<sup>2\*</sup> (on the title-page the first 'e' of 'egenis' is missing because of a hole in the paper); London, Bedford, H.32.631.Haa; London, BL, C.175.ff.13.(3)<sup>\*</sup>; New York (N.Y.), PL, \*KB 1607 and 8 \*KB 1607 (title-leaf gathering missing); Rotterdam, GB, 50 D 5:3; The Hague, KB, 758 E 12<sup>\*</sup>; The Hague, MMW, 109 C 5:4<sup>\*</sup> (title-leaf gathering supplied in photostat); Uppsala, UB, Litt. Nederl. Nyare [Heyns]; Utrecht, UB, Z.qu. 132<sup>\*</sup>; Washington, D.C., Congress, PT5600.A1C6 Rare Book Coll.

The copies in, e.g., Brussels, KB, V.H. 29.055 LP<sup>\*</sup>; Haarlem, GA, 20 B 41<sup>\*</sup>; and The Hague, KB, 759 D 3<sup>\*</sup>, do not contain the Latin play but only the *Voor-reden ende tusschen-spraken van 'voorgaende Latijns spel*.

**34b** FABULA COMICA.

Zwolle, Zacharias Heyns, 1607.

*Another issue.*

*Collation :*

See No. 34a above.

*Contents :*

$\pi$ 1 : title (verso blank).  $\pi$ 2<sup>r</sup> : blazon engraved in copper with the motto '*Diligentia parit artis Anno 1607.*'  $\pi$ 2<sup>v</sup> : 'Actorum Nomina.' A1<sup>r</sup>-E2<sup>v</sup> : the same as in No. 34a above.

*Notes :*

In comparison with No. 34a above, the title-leaf gathering is replaced by a half-sheet containing the title and the names of the actors of the play in a different setting but without substantive variation except for the substitution of a copper engraving for the printer's device on the title-page. The blazon engraved in copper is maintained in the  $\pi$ 2<sup>r</sup> position.

The traced copies exhibit a slight shift in position of the copper engraving on the title-page and the copper-engraved blazon on f.  $\pi$ 2<sup>r</sup>, which is a result of later rerunning the half-sheet through the rolling press (see also the notes to No. 34a above).

For the copper engraving on the title-page and its description, see Laceulle-Van de Kerk, p. 407, No. 140, and pp. 103 (which erroneously refers to a wood-cut) and 166, No. 9 and note 2 (which also erroneously speaks of a wood-cut). Cf. also Briels, p. 33, Pl. 3.

*Copies :*

Leuven, private collection\* (gathering A missing); London, BL, 11712.c.58\*; Venray, private collection\*.

**35a** TERENCE CHRISTIANUS SEU COMOEDIAE SACRAE SEX.

Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1608.

*Collation :*

8° (31 ll., 129 × 72 mm. [M1<sup>r</sup>]): †<sup>8</sup> A-C<sup>8</sup> D<sup>6</sup> E<sup>10</sup> F-L<sup>8</sup> M<sup>4</sup> N-2A<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (+ E6,8,9,10; - †1,3, M4,5, S3,4)], 196 leaves, pp. [16], 1 2-60 [misnumbering 26 as '30', 28 as '26', 30 as '50', 54 as '56']; <sup>2</sup>1 2-68 [misnumbering 12 as '10']; <sup>3</sup>1-56 [misnumbering 18 as '12', 34 as '54']; <sup>4</sup>1-61 62-64; <sup>5</sup>1 2-63 64 [misnumbering 35 as '55', 51 as '50']; <sup>6</sup>1-64.

*Contents :*

†1: title (verso blank). †2<sup>r</sup>: foreword [by Cornelius Loosaeus Callidius]: 'PRÆFATIO. | CANDIDO LECTO- | RI, PVRRITATIS ET ELEGANTIÆ LA- | tini sermonis studiofo: & in primis Gymnasiarchis, | Rectoribus, Didascalis, cæterisque studiofæ | pubis formatoribus S.' ending on †8<sup>v</sup>. A1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI. | NAAMAN.' ending on D6<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' E1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI. | TOBÆVS.' ending on H8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' I1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | NEHEMIAS.' ending on M4<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' N1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | SAVLVS.' ending on Q7<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by an orn. Q7<sup>v</sup>-Q8<sup>v</sup>: blank. R1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI, | IOSEPHVS.' ending on V8<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' V8<sup>v</sup>: blank. X1<sup>r</sup>: || [band of type orns] || 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | IVDITHA.' ending on 2A8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by an orn.

*Notes :*

Sheet † is a paginal resetting from the 1604 Cologne edition, i.e. the issue described above under No. 31b. Sheets A-Q (except for sigs M2<sup>v</sup>-M4<sup>v</sup>), i.e. the plays *Naaman*, *Tobaeus*, *Nehemias* (except for pp. 52-56), and *Saulus*, are a paginal resetting from the 1604 Cologne edition described above under No. 31a. Of the *Iosephus* (sheets R-V) the greater part (pp. 1-3, 7-21, 24-25, and 28-48) is also a paginal resetting from this edition, whereas in the *Iuditha* (sheets

X-2A) there is no or hardly any paginal resetting, although for setting his text of the play the printer is likely to have used the 1604 edition as copy-text. See, however, also the notes to No. 15 above.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 209.

*Copies :*

Edinburgh, NL, Gray 1159\* (in this copy leaves E1.10 are left inside the fold D3.4 and not wrapped around gathering E2-E9); Emden, BGK, Philos 8° 368\*; Grenoble, BM, F 3572; Urbana (Ill.), UL, Baldwin 1196.

**35b** TERENCE CHRISTIANUS SEU COMOEDIAE SACRAE SEX.

Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1609.

*Another issue* (in relation to No. 35a above).

*Variant state* (in relation to No. 38 below).

*Collation :*

See No. 35a above.

*Contents :*

See No. 35a above.

*Notes :*

We are concerned here with a re-issue of the 1608 Cologne sheets (= No. 35a).

Apparently the printer had deliberately kept the type-pages of the title-leaf gathering of the 1608 edition standing for some reason associated with a future planned re-issue of the old stock of sheets of the text. When demand warranted further copies or when the printer thought it necessary to bring the sheets up to date, a revised setting of the title-page was made, the imprint date being changed in the process from 1608 to 1611 (see No. 38 below and Pl. 51).

Thus we find the first sheet re-impressed from the identical type-pages without change except for the title-page and some minor alterations caused by wrapping for storage.

There is, however, good reason to believe that the number of copies containing a preliminary sheet with the 1611 date must have been very small (see No. 38 below, where only one traced copy is listed), since in all likelihood this date was a printer's error. When it was discovered, the press was stopped to alter the date to 1609 and to add a type ornament on +8<sup>v</sup>, thus constituting a variant state.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 209.

*Copies :*

Aarau, AKB, Mb 1273; Aberdeen, UL, SB 8792 Sch 1\* (in this copy gathering N comes from the 1604 Cologne edition described above under No. 31a); Antwerp, Ruusbroec, 4103 K 17\*; Cambridge, Trinity, III.1.116\* (page numerals 5 and 6 of the play *Nehemias* torn off); Dresden, SLB, Lit.Lat.rec. A.1360<sup>m</sup>;

Eichstätt, UB, N II 823; Florence, BNC, 3.5.344; Gotha, FB, Phil. 1075/1; Halle (Saale), HBFS, 158 H 4; Leningrad, PB, 6.4.4.157; Manchester, UL, Sp. Coll. 879.242 S8 (1); Nijmegen, UB, 43 c 352\* (in this copy there is no direction-line on R2 due to bad inking); Oxford, Corpus Christi, LD 14 b 20\* (in this copy there is no direction-line on K1 due to bad inking; page numeral 2 of the play *Naaman* torn off); Philadelphia (Pa.), LC, Sev Scho christ church 213; Prague, PNP, AD XIII 1/1; Reggio Emilia, BM, 16-H-715; Rehburg-Loecum, Kloster, Lit. 3010; Riga, Valsts, R W1 109 (title-leaf missing and very incomplete); Solothurn, ZB, QE 138; Trier, StB, 5/483 80\*; Venice, Marciana, 86.C.249; Vienna, Theresiana, 22305\*; Villeneuve d'Ascq, BI, 93.998; Wroclaw, BU, 469647.

### 36 LUCUBRATIONUM PARS TERTIA.

Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1609.

#### *Collation :*

8° (31 ll., 128 × 68 mm. [A7<sup>r</sup>]): A-T<sup>8</sup> V<sup>4</sup> [\$5 signed (– A1, N5, S5, V4,5; var: T3 signed 'S3')], 156 leaves, pp. irreg. 1-3 4-224 145-232 [= 312] [misnumbering (var: 109 as '119', 127 as '129'), 221 as '121', 223 as '123', 225-312 as '145-232' and, within this misnumbered sequence, (var: 158 [= 238] as '58'), 190 [= 191 (= 270 [= 271])] as '281', 191 [= 190 (= 271 [= 270])] as '180', (var: 202 [= 282] as '366', 222 [= 302] as '223', 227 [= 307] as '127')].

#### *Contents :*

A1: title (verso blank). A2<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory letter: 'REVERENDO | D. DOMINO TIMAN= | NO à WOV, RHODIANORVM | DOMINORVM APVD HAR- | LEMENSES PRÆSVLI, | *Cornelius Schonæus S.*, dated on A3<sup>r</sup>: 'Harlemi; ipfis Calen- | dis Ianuarij, Anno | 1603.' A3<sup>v</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'AD CORNELIVM | SCHONÆVM PRÆCEP- | TOREM OLIM SVVM.' (26 ll. 'D<sup>2</sup>Vm mea mens varijs mærorum quaffa procellis') signed 'Atque hæc quidem præfiscini dicta funto | à PETRO SCRIVERIO Harlemenfi.' A4<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'EPIGRAMMA. | IN TERTIAM LVCVBRATIO- | num Cornelij Schonæi partem.' (20 ll. 'F<sup>2</sup>E/ta coronatis niteant aulæa theatris,') signed 'Theodorus Schreuelius.' A4<sup>v</sup>: 'BAPTISTES | SACRA, ET NOVA | TRAGICOCOMOEDIA.' A5<sup>r</sup>: 'ARGVMENTVM [var: 'ARGVMMENTVM'] IN BAPTI- | ften, Carmine heroico redditum.' (17 ll. 'I<sup>2</sup>LLE Jalutiferi vocalis buccina Regis,') signed 'Theodorus Schreuelius.' On D2<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' D3<sup>r</sup>: 'DYSCOLI | COMOEDIA NOVA.' ending on F4<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' F5<sup>r</sup>: 'PSEVDOSTRATIOTAE. |

FABVLA LVDICRA.' ending on H7<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' H8<sup>r</sup>: 'CVNAE, | FABVLA LVDICRA.' ending on L1<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' L1<sup>v</sup>: 'VITVLVS, | FABVLA LVDICRA.' ending on N5<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' N5<sup>v</sup>: 'LIBER ELEGIARVM.' ending on Q5<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by an orn. Q6<sup>r</sup>: 'LIBER | EPIGRAMMATVM.', introduced by a dedicatory letter: 'PROBITATE, ATQVE ERVDITIONE | INSIGNI, EVGENIO PEREBOMIO, | *Goudano, Cornelius Schonaeus S.*' (Q6<sup>r-v</sup>) and ending on V4<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.', followed by Schonaeus's *symbolum*: 'NVLLVM SIMVLATVM DIVTVRNVM' and an orn.

*Notes :*

In setting his texts for this new edition of Schonaeus's plays, elegies, and epigrams, the printer is likely to have used as copy-text a copy of the 1603 Cologne edition (= No. 30) which had been corrected and revised in places by the author.

In the arrangement of the type-pages in R(i) the pages R7<sup>v</sup> and R8<sup>r</sup> have been interchanged.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 209.

*Copies :*

Aberdeen, UL, SB 8792 Sch 1\*; Antwerp, Ruusbroec, 4103 K 17\*; Bamberg, SB, L.r.r.o. 111\*<sup>2</sup>; Basle, UB, Frey-Gryn P V 20; Cambridge, Emmanuel, 329.6.8<sup>5</sup>\* (title-leaf and Q2 missing; the copy is cropped with loss of pagination); Cambridge, Trinity, III.1.116\*; Donaueschingen, FHB, I Fg 2\*; Dresden, SLB, Lit.Lat.rec. A.1360<sup>m</sup>; Edinburgh, NL, Gray 1159\*; Edinburgh, UL, W\* 31.23\* (R5,6 missing); Emden, BGK, Philos 8° 368\*; Florence, BNC, 3.5.344; Gdańsk, PAN, Cf 8768 8°; Gotha, FB, Phil. 1075/1; Halle (Saale), HBFS, 158 H 4; Leningrad, PB, 6.4.4.157; Manchester, UL, Sp. Coll. 879.242 S8 (3); Milan, Braidense, TT.III.41; Oxford, Corpus Christi, LD 14 b 20\*; Philadelphia (Pa.), LC, Sev Scho christ church 213; Prague, PNP, AD XIII 1/3; Rehburg-Loccum, Kloster, Lit. 3010; Riga, Valsts, R W1 109 (title-leaf missing and very incomplete); Salzburg, St Peter, 19.751; Solothurn, ZB, QE 138; St Gallen, Vadiana, Jd 1980\*; Trier, StB, 5/483 8°\*; Vienna, Theresiana, 22305\*; Villeneuve d'Ascq, BI, 93.998; Warsaw, BU, 17.1.5.39; Wrocław, BU, 469647.

- 37 TERENCE CHRISTIANUS SIVE COMOEDIAE DUA [TOBAEUS, IUDITHA], PSEUDOSTRATIOTES.

London, William Hall and Thomas Haviland for the Stationers' Company, 1610.

*Collation :*

8° (30 ll., 122 × 71 mm. [K1<sup>r</sup>]): A-M<sup>8</sup> [\$4 signed (–A1)], 96 leaves, pp. 1-3 4-190 191-192 [misnumbering 69 as '63', 188 as '118'].

*Contents :*

A1<sup>r</sup>: title. A1<sup>v</sup>: foreword [by the editor]: '*Ad Lectorem.*' On A1<sup>v</sup>: [TOBÆVS] ending on E6<sup>r</sup>: '*FINIS.*' E6<sup>v</sup>: 'IVDITHA' ending on 17<sup>r</sup>: '*FINIS.*' 17<sup>v</sup>: 'PSEVDOSTRATI- | OTAE, FABVLA IOCO- | fa, atque ludicra.' ending on M7<sup>v</sup>: '*FINIS.*' and followed by an orn. M8: blank.

*Notes :*

A paginal resetting from the 1607 London edition (= No. 33).

NSTC 21821.6 assigns this edition to the press of William Hall from the ornamental material, which came from the shop of Richard Bradock<sup>73</sup>.

William Hall and Thomas Haviland had bought the business, formerly Robert Robinson's, from Bradock in 1609 (see McKerrow, *Devices*, p. 166<sup>b</sup> and McKerrow, *Dictionary*, pp. 121 and 132).

The ornament on the title-page was already used by Robert Robinson, the printer of the 1595 London edition (= No. 17)<sup>74</sup>, whereas the ornament occurring on page 190 as a tail-piece was also used by John Beale<sup>75</sup>, after he had bought, around 1614, William Hall's business (see McKerrow, *Devices*, p. 166<sup>b</sup>; McKerrow, *Dictionary*, p. 121; and Plomer, *Dictionary*, pp. 17-18).

For a note on the English editions of two of Schonaeus's biblical dramas under the title *Terentius Christianus* and his farce *Pseudostratotes*, see the notes to No. 17 above.

*Copies :*

Cambridge, UL, Rel.e.59.3 (2)\* (very incomplete, only I7-M7, i.e. pp. 141-190); Cambridge (Mass.), HUL, \*67-517 (description from microfilm; blank M8 is reported present).

**38 TERENCE CHRISTIANUS SEU COMOEDIAE SACRAE SEX.**

Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1611.

*Another issue* (in relation to No. 35a above).

*Variant state* (in relation to No. 35b above).

<sup>73</sup> This information is from Miss K.F. Pantzer.

<sup>74</sup> See, e.g., Allison, *Robert Greene* (footnote 68 above), Nos 8 and 9 (title-pages on microfiche).

The same block was also used later as a title-page ornament by John Beale. See, e.g., A.F. Allison, *Thomas Dekker c. 1572-1632: A Bibliographical Catalogue of the Early Editions (To the end of the 17th century)* (Folkestone and London, 1972) [= *Pall Mall Bibliographies* 1], p. 101, Pl. 53.

<sup>75</sup> See, e.g., John Taylor's *A Memorial of All the English Monarchs being in number 151, from Brute to King Charles. In Heroicall Verse* (London, Printed by Iohn Beale, for Iames Bowler, 1630) (= NSTC 23774), sig. A5<sup>r</sup>, where the same ornament is used, but this time as a headpiece.

*Collation :*

See No. 35a above.

*Contents :*

See No. 35a above.

*Notes :*

The same edition as No. 35a above, but see the notes on the title-leaf gathering to No. 35b above.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 209.

*Copy :*

Edinburgh, UL, W\* 31.23\*.

### 39 COMOEDIAE SELECTIORES EX TERENCE CHRISTIANO.

Berne, Jean Le Preux, 1611.

*Collation :*

(entire volume) : 8° (30 ll., 120 × 69 mm. [R1<sup>r</sup>]): A-R<sup>8</sup> [\$4 signed (– A1; F2 signed 'F3', L2 signed 'L3', M2 signed 'M3', P3 signed 'P4'; G3 with a badly inked '3')], 136 leaves, pp. irreg. [2], 1-254 257-264 265 166-167 168-172 [= 270] [misnumbering 195 as '105', 224 as '24', 255-62 as '257-64', 266-67 [= 264-65] as '166-67'].

*Contents :*

A1<sup>r</sup>: title. A1<sup>v</sup>: 'BAPTISTES | SACRA, ET NOVA | TRAGICOMOEDIA.' A2<sup>r</sup>: 'ARGUMENTVM IN BA- | ptisten, Carmine heroico redditum.' (17 ll. 'I<sup>2</sup>LLE *salutiferi vocalis buccina Regis,*') signed 'Theodorus Schreueleius.' On D2<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' D3<sup>r</sup>: 'TRIVMPHVS | CHRISTI. | COMOEDIA SACRA.' ending on G1<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' G2<sup>r</sup>: 'PENTECOSTE | COMOEDIA SACRA | ET NOVA.' ending on I8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' K1<sup>r</sup>: 'DANIEL | COMOEDIA SACRA' ending on N2<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' N3<sup>r</sup>: 'DYSCOLI | COMOEDIA NOVA.' ending on P7<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' P7<sup>v</sup>: 'APPENDIX.' ending on R6<sup>v</sup>. R7<sup>r</sup>: 'EMENDANDA.' [errata listed between p. 7 (sig. A5<sup>r</sup>) and p. 238 (sig. P8<sup>v</sup>)] ending on R7<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' R8: blank.

*Notes :*

The text of the plays of this edition is likely to have been set from copies of the Cologne 1602 and 1603 (= Nos 29a-29c and 30) and perhaps 1606 and 1609 (= Nos 32a-32b and 36) editions.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see C.F. von Steiger, *Jean Le Preux*:



*Der erste obrigkeitliche Buchdrucker der Stadt Bern 1600-1614* (Berne, 1953) [= *Bibliothek des Schweizerischen Gutenbergmuseums* 15], title-page and p. 20, Fig. 11. This study of Le Preux can also be found under the above title in the journal *Schweizerisches Gutenbergmuseum*, 39 (1953), 67-95, and the printer's device occurs there on p. 84 (= Fig. 11).

*Copies :*

Berne, SLB, L 9730\* (in the imprint the letters 'Excud' are missing from the word 'Excudebat' due to bad inking); Berne, StUB, f. 370\*; Lausanne, BCU, K 148\* (in the imprint the letters 'Excud' are missing from the word 'Excudebat' due to bad inking).

40 TERENTII CHRISTIANI PARS SECUNDA.

Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1612.

*Collation :*

8° (31 ll., 128 × 71 mm. [E5r]): †<sup>8</sup> A-Q<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (–†1,4; (var: †2 signed '2'), F4 signed 'R4')], 136 leaves, pp. [16], 1-254 255-256 [misnumbering 52 as '25', 53 as '35', 58 as '50', 67 as '76', 73 as '37', 79 as '76', 210 as '012', 217 as '218', (var: 231 as '212'?), 236 as '256', (var: 238 as '230')].

*Contents :*

†1: title (verso blank). †2r: dedicatory letter: 'ADMODVM | REVERENDO, IL- | LVSTRI ET AMPLISSIMO | VIRO DOMINO IACOBO CHI- | marrheo S. R. E. Protonotario, [...] Domino & Mæ- | cenati fuo multum ob- | feruando.', dated on †4r: 'Datum | Coloniae Anno incarnationis Domini- | cæ, Millefimo sexto [sic], ipfo festo Natiuita- | tis Mariæ Virginis.' and signed 'Reuerend. & Illust. Amplitud. tuæ | Humilimus cliens, | Gerardus Grevenbruch.' †4v: dedicatory poem: 'AD CORNELIVM SCHO- | NÆVM GOVDANVM, GYMNASIAR- | cham Harlemensem, olim præ- | ceptorem suum.' (38 ll. 'C<sup>2</sup>Orneli Batauae moderator fide iuuentæ:.) signed on †5r: 'Quod voueo, & auguror, | PETRVS SCRIVERIVS | Harlemensis.' and followed by an orn. †5v: dedicatory poem: 'AD CORNELIVM SCHO- | NÆVM COMICVM.' (14 ll. 'A<sup>2</sup>Fer, Aristophanes, pallæq<sub>3</sub> repertor honestæ') signed 'T. Schrevelius.' and followed by a type orn. †6r: dedicatory poem: 'CL. D. CORNELIO SCHO- | NÆO GOVDANO. | ODE.' (20 ll. 'V<sup>2</sup>Anus Deorum cultor, & impiè') signed 'Pangebatur | Arnoldus Mylius, Arn. F. | Birkmannus.' †6v: commendatory poem: 'ADOLPHVS SCHVL- | CKENIVS GELDRIENSIS, | PHILOSOPHIÆ IN ACADEMIA | Colonienfi,

Gymnafij Montis | Profefflor, beneuolo | Lectori.' (18 ll. 'Q<sup>2</sup>*Visquis ftudes imbuere mentem moribus*,'). †7<sup>r</sup>: commendatory poem: 'EIDEM. | TERENCEVS CHRI- | STIANVS. | ΑΝΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΣ. | EN TVTARE SINVS | CHRISTI.' (11 ll. 'Q<sup>2</sup>*Visquis flagranti nifu, vigiliq<sub>3</sub> labore*') ending with a type orn. †7<sup>v</sup>: commendatory poem: 'IN COMOEDIAS COR. | SCHONÆI.' (6 ll. 'I<sup>2</sup>*Ngenio Plauti, cultoq<sub>3</sub> lepore* TERENTI,') signed 'Lubens pofui Cornelius à Dale.' and followed by an orn. †8<sup>r</sup>: blank. †8<sup>v</sup>: 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI, | SVSANNA.' ending on C7<sup>v</sup> with a type orn. below. C8<sup>r</sup>: 'DANIEL,' ending on F5<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' On F5<sup>r</sup>: || 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI. | TRIVMPHVS CHRISTI.' ending on H8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' I1<sup>r</sup>: 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | TYPHVS.' ending on L4<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' L4<sup>v</sup>: 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | PENTECOSTE.' ending on N8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by a type orn. O1<sup>r</sup>: 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | ANANIAS.' ending on Q7<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by an orn. Q8: blank.

#### Notes :

A paginal resetting (with some author's (?) revisions) from the 1606 Cologne edition, i.e. the issue described above under No. 32b, except for sigs †2<sup>r</sup>-†4<sup>r</sup>, †7<sup>v</sup>, †8<sup>v</sup>, and pp. 58-59 and 150-51. See, however, also the notes to No. 15 above.

From this year onwards we find in the second part of Schonaeus's *Terentius Christianus* the original author's dedication to the Haarlem burgomasters and magistrates (see Nos 29a-29b and 32a above) definitively cancelled in favour of the one from the printer to his patron Iacobus Chimarraeus (see Nos 29c and 32b above), presumably because Schonaeus had died already on 23 November 1611 (see also the notes to No. 32a above).

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 209.

#### Copies :

Aarau, AKB, Mb 1273; Aberdeen, UL, SB 8792 Sch 1\*; Admont, Stift, 86/259; Amberg, SPB, Lat. rec. 347<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> (2)\* (blank Q8 missing); Donaueschingen, FHB, I Fg 2\*; Dresden, SLB, Lit.Lat.rec. A.1360<sup>m</sup>; Evanston (Ill.), NUL, Rare Book Room 879S156 IC12; Greifswald, UB, Ds 1173; Halle (Saale), HBFS, 162 G 14; Helsinki, YK, U-14652; Leningrad, BAH,  $\frac{3433.0}{13698-700}$ ; Leningrad, PB, 6.4.4.14; Paris, Sorbonne, LL' p 239 in-12°; Prague, PNP, AD IV 69/2; Rome, Alessandrina, M.f.27-28; Toruń, Główna, Ob.7.II.2209; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Li 8064\* (blank Q8 missing); Würzburg, UB, L.r.r.o. 190/2\*; Zurich, ZB, WJ 58<sub>2</sub>.

- 41 TERENCEVS CHRISTIANVS SEU COMOEDIAE SACRAE SEX.  
Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1614.

*Collation :*

8° (31 ll., 128 × 70 mm. [S4<sup>v</sup>]): †<sup>8</sup> A-C<sup>8</sup> D<sup>6</sup> E<sup>10</sup> F-L<sup>8</sup> M<sup>4</sup> N-2A<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (+ E6,8,9,10; - †1,3, M4,5, S3; (var: C5 signed 'C3'), 2A3 signed 'A3')], 196 leaves, pp. [16], 1-60; <sup>2</sup>1-68 [var: misnumbering 23 as '27']; <sup>3</sup>1 2 3-56; <sup>4</sup>1-61 62-64 [misnumbering 46 as '26']; <sup>5</sup>1 2-63 64; <sup>6</sup>1-64 [misnumbering 63 as '36'].

*Contents :*

†1: title (verso blank). †2<sup>r</sup>: foreword [by Cornelius Loosaeus Callidius]: 'PRAEFATIO. | CANDIDO LECTO- | RI, PVRITATIS ET ELEGANTIAE LA- | tini sermonis studiofo: & in primis Gymnasiarchis, | Rectoribus, Didascalis, caeterisq<sup>3</sup> studiofa | pubis formatoribus S.' ending on †8<sup>v</sup> with a type orn. below. A1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI, | NAAMAN.' ending on D6<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' E1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI, | TOBÆVS.' ending on H8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' I1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI, | NEHEMIAS.' ending on M4<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' N1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | SAVLVS.' ending on Q7<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by an orn. Q7<sup>v</sup>-Q8<sup>v</sup>: blank. R1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI. | IOSEPHVS.' ending on V8<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' V8<sup>v</sup>: blank. X1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI. | IVDITHA.' ending on 2A8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by an orn.

*Notes :*

A paginal resetting from the 1608 Cologne edition (= No. 35a) except for pp. 22-23 of the play *Iosephus*.

On page 61 of the play *Saulus*, the copies of this 1614 Cologne edition exhibit a difference in ornamentation, as the printer used two different ornaments for decoration.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 209.

*Copies :*

Admont, Stift, 86/259; Amberg, SPB, Lat. rec. 347<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> (1); Donaueschingen, FHB, I Fg 2\*; Erlangen, UB, Phl. IX, 144\* and Trew N\*561-563; Evanston (Ill.), NUL, Rare Book Room 879S156 IC12; Florence, BNC, 21.7.216; Ghent, UB, B.L. 1757\*; Greifswald, UB, Ds 1173; Halle (Saale), HBFS, 162 G 14; Heiligenkreuz, Stift, Gg IV c; Helsinki, YK, U-14652; Leningrad, BAH, 3433.0; Leningrad, PB, 6.4.4.14; Minneapolis (Minn.), UL, Y879Sch65 IG86; 13698-700; Padua, BSV, AA=6x (Balan); Paris, Sorbonne, LL' p 239 in-12°; Prague, PNP, AD IV 69/1; Toruń, Główna, Ob.7.II.2209; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Li 8064\* and P 1717.8° Helmst. (1)\*; Würzburg, UB, L.r.r.o. 190/1\* (in this copy on p. 59 of the play *Tobaeus* the last line of verse has not been printed in full and the direction-line has not been printed at all due to bad inking).

## 42 LUCUBRATIONUM PARS TERTIA.

Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1614.

*Collation :*

8° (31 ll., 128 × 69 mm. [B5<sup>r</sup>]): A-T<sup>8</sup> V<sup>4</sup> [\$5 signed (– A1, N5, V4,5; K3 signed 'L3')], 156 leaves, pp. irreg. 1-3 4-86 87 88-93 94 95-224 145-232 [= 312] [misnumbering 29 as '19', 32 as '52', 35 as '55', 46 as '43', 139 as '193', 143 as '141', 219 as '2' (*var*: 219 as '21'), 225-312 as '145-232' and, within this misnumbered sequence, 173 [= 253] as '172'].

*Contents :*

A1<sup>r</sup>: title (verso blank). A2<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory letter: 'REVERENDO | D.DOMINO TILMAN- | NO à WOV, RHODIANORVM | DOMINORVM APVD HAR- | LEMENSES PRÆSVLI. | *Cornelius Schonæus S.*, dated on A3<sup>r</sup>: 'Harlemi; ipfis Calen- | dis Ianuarii, Anno | 1603.' A3<sup>v</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'AD CORNELIVM | SCHONÆVM PRÆCEP- | TOREM OLIM SVVM.' (26 ll. 'D<sup>2</sup>VM mea mens varijs mærorum quaffa procellis ') signed 'Atque hæc quidem præfiscini dicta funto | à PETRO SCHRIVERIO Harlemenfi.' A4<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'EPIGRAMMA. | IN TERTIAM LVCVBATIONVM | Cornelii Schonæi partem.' (20 ll. 'F<sup>2</sup>Efta coronatis niteant aulæa theatris,') signed 'Theodorus Schreuelius.' A4<sup>v</sup>: 'BAPTISTES | SACRA, ET NOVA | TRAGICOCOMOEDIA.' A5<sup>r</sup>: 'ARGVMENTVM IN BAPTISTEN, | Carmine heroico redditum.' (17 ll. 'I<sup>2</sup>LLE salutiferi vocalis buccina Regis,') signed 'Theodorus Schreuelius.' On D2<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' D3<sup>r</sup>: 'DYSCOLI | COMOEDIA NOVA.' ending on F4<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' F5<sup>r</sup>: 'PSEVDOSTRATIOTæ. | FABVLA LVDICRA.' ending on H7<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' H8<sup>r</sup>: 'CVNAE | FABVLA LVDICRA.' ending on L1<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' L1<sup>v</sup>: 'VITVLVS, | FABVLA LVDICRA.' ending on N5<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' N5<sup>v</sup>: 'LIBER ELEGIVM.' ending on Q5<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by an orn. Q6<sup>r</sup>: 'LIBER | EPIGRAMMATVM.', introduced by a dedicatory letter: 'PROBITATE, ATQVE ERVDI- | TIONE INSIGNI, EVGENIO PERE- | bomio, Goudano, Cornelius Schonæus S.' (Q6<sup>r-v</sup>) and ending on V4<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.', followed by Schonæus's *symbolum*: 'NVLLVM SIMVLATVM DIVTVRNVM.' and an orn.

*Notes :*

A paginal resetting from the 1609 Cologne edition (= No. 36) except for pp. 4-5, 104-112, 150-51 (= 230-31), 153-56 (= 233-36), 158-59 (= 238-39), 225-26 (= 305-06), and 231-32 (= 311-12).

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 209.

*Copies :*

Admont, Stift, 86/259; Amberg, SPB, Lat. rec. 347<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> (3)\*; Besançon, BM, 204 928; Evanston (Ill.), NUL, Rare Book Room 879S156 IC12; Greifswald, UB, Ds 1173; Helsinki, YK, U-14652; Leningrad, BAH,  $\frac{3433.0}{13698-700}$ ; Leningrad, PB, 6.4.4.14; Lisbon, Ajuda, 71-II-13; Paris, Sorbonne, LL' p 239 in-12°; Prague, PNP, AD IV 69/3; Toruń, Główna, Ob.7.II.2158 and Ob.7.II.2209; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Li 8064\* (in this copy there is no headline on L3<sup>v</sup> and page number 166 is badly inked); Würzburg, UB, L.r.r.o. 190/3\* (in this copy page number 166 is not printed due to bad inking).

43 TERENCE CHRISTIANUS SIVE COMOEDIAE DUAE [TOBAEUS, IUDITHA], PSEUDOSTRATIOTES.

London, Edward Allde for the Stationers' Company, 1615.

*Collation :*

8° (30 ll., 122 × 71 mm. [A8<sup>r</sup>]): A-M<sup>8</sup> [\$4 signed (–A1)], 96 leaves, pp. 1-2 3-190 191-192.

*Contents :*

A1<sup>r</sup>: title. A1<sup>v</sup>: foreword [by the editor]: '*Ad Lectorem.*' On A1<sup>v</sup>: [TOBÆVS] ending on E6<sup>r</sup>: '*FINIS.*' E6<sup>v</sup>: 'IVDITHA' ending on I7<sup>r</sup>: '*FINIS.*' I7<sup>v</sup>: 'PSEVDOSTRATIOTAE, | FABVLA IOCOSA, | atque ludicra.' ending on M7<sup>v</sup>: '*FINIS.*' and followed by an orn. M8: missing (blank?).

*Notes :*

A paginal resetting from the 1610 London edition (= No. 37), but on page 66 the last line of verse has been omitted by error.

The ornaments on the title-page (the snail ornament) and page 190 (the sun and cloud block) show that the actual printer of this edition was Edward Allde<sup>76</sup>. See also NSTC 21821.8.

For a note on the English editions of two of Schonaeus's biblical dramas under

<sup>76</sup> For the snail ornament, see also the title-page of William Evans's *Pietatis Lachrymae. Teares of devotion* ... (London, Printed by Edward Allde, and are to be sold at the long shop under S. Mildreds Church in the Poultry, 1602) (= STC 10596).

I do not know whether this particular ornament should be regarded as a device or not, but I should call it an ornament rather than a device. In any case, it is not among the ornaments of which Allde made frequent use, and it possibly occurs on the title-page of the above *Terentius Christianus* because of its small size.

For a reproduction of the tail-piece (the sun and cloud block) on p. 190, see R. B. McKerrow, 'Edward Allde as a Typical Trade Printer', *The Library*, Fourth Series, 10 (1930), 121-62 (p. 150, No. 1).

the title *Terentius Christianus* and his farce *Pseudostratotes*, see the notes to No. 17 above.

*Copies :*

London, BL, Cup.403.y.16\* (M8 missing) and Ames II 383 (title-leaf only).

44 THERENTII CHRISTIANI PARS SECUNDA.

Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1618.

*Collation :*

8° (31 ll., 128 × 69 mm. [I5<sup>r</sup>]): †<sup>8</sup> A-Q<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (–†1; †2 signed ‘†5’)], 136 leaves, pp. [16], 1-254 255-256 [misnumbering 47 as ‘49’, 95 as ‘59’, 212 as ‘112’, 228 as ‘128’, 254 as ‘245’].

*Contents :*

†1: title (verso blank). †2<sup>r</sup> (missigned ‘†5’): dedicatory letter: ‘ADMODVM | REVERENDO, IL | LVSTRI ET AMPLISSIMO | VIRO DOMINO IACOBO CHI- | marhæo S.R.E.Protonotario, [...] Domino & Mæce- | nati fuo multum obfer- | uando.’, dated on †4<sup>r</sup>: ‘Datum | Coloniae Anno incarnationis Domini- | cæ, Millefimoſexto [sic], ipſo feſto Natiuitatis | Mariæ Virginis.’ and ſigned ‘*Reuerend. & illuſt. Amplitud. tuæ | Humilimus cliens, | Gerardus Greuenbruch.*’ †4<sup>v</sup>: dedicatory poem: ‘AD CORNELIVM SCHO- | NÆVM GOVDANVM, GYMNASIAR- | cham Harlemenſem, olim præ- | ceptorem fuum.’ (38 ll. ‘C<sup>2</sup>Orneli Batauæ moderator fide iuuentæ :’) ſigned on †5<sup>r</sup>: ‘Quod voueo, & auguror. | PETRVS SCHRIVERIVS | Harlemenſis.’ and followed by an orn. †5<sup>v</sup>: dedicatory poem: ‘AD CORNELIVM SCHO- | NÆVM COMICVM.’ (14 ll. ‘A<sup>2</sup>Fer, Ariftophanes, pallæq<sub>3</sub> repertor honeſtæ’) ſigned ‘T. Schrevelius.’ and followed by another dedicatory poem: ‘ALBERTI EVFRENII | EPIGRAMMA.’ (6 ll. ‘D<sup>2</sup>VM Schonæ vides tam turpia ludicra ſcenæ,’). †6<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory poem: ‘CL. D. CORNELIO SCHO- | NÆO GOVDANO. | ODE.’ (20 ll. ‘V<sup>2</sup>Anus Deorum cultor, & impiè’) ſigned ‘Pangebat | Arnoldus Mylius, Arn. F. | Birckmannus.’ †6<sup>v</sup>: commendatory poem: ‘ADOLPHVS SCHVL- | CKENIVS GELDRIENſIS, | PHILOſOPHIÆ IN ACADEMIA | Coloniaenſi, Gymnaſij Montis Pro- | feſſor, beneuolo Le- | ctori.’ (18 ll. ‘Q<sup>2</sup>Visquis ſtudes imbuere mentem moribus,’). †7<sup>r</sup>: commendatory poem: ‘EIDEM. | THERENTIVS CHRI- | STIANVS. | ANAΓPAMMATIſMOſ. | EN TVTARE SINVS | CHRISTI.’ (11 ll. ‘Q<sup>2</sup>Visquis flagranti niſu, vigiliq<sub>3</sub> labore’) ending with a type orn. †7<sup>v</sup>: commendatory poem: ‘IN

COMOEDIAS COR. | SCHONÆI.' (6 ll. 'I<sup>2</sup>Ngenio Plauti, cultōq<sub>3</sub> lepore TERENTI,') signed 'Lubens pofui | Cornelius à Dale.' and followed by another commendatory poem: 'HADRIANI IVNII HEXASTI- | chon, fub perfona auctoris.' (6 ll. 'D<sup>2</sup>VM flores nitidi paßim delibo Terenti'). †8<sup>r</sup>: commendatory poem: 'IN TERENTIVM CHRI- | STIANVM CORNELII SCHONÆI.' (14 ll. 'Q<sup>2</sup>Valiter infano Iuuenis lasciuus ampre' [sic]) signed 'Iacobus Lom Ruremun- | densis pofuit.' and followed by another commendatory poem: 'ALIVD EIVSDEM.' (4 ll. 'Induerat corpus Latiali veste Menandri'). †8<sup>v</sup>: 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | SVSANNA.' ending on C7<sup>v</sup>. C8<sup>r</sup>: 'TERENTII CHRISTIANI | DANIEL,' ending on F5<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by an orn. F5<sup>v</sup>: 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI. | TRIVMPHVS CHRISTI.' ending on H8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' II<sup>r</sup>: 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | TYPHLVs.' ending on L4<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' L4<sup>v</sup>: 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | PENTECOSTE.' ending on N8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by a type orn. O1<sup>r</sup>: 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | ANANIAS.' ending on Q7<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by an orn. Q8: blank.

*Notes :*

A paginal resetting from the 1612 Cologne edition (= No. 40) except for sigs †2<sup>v</sup>-†4<sup>r</sup>, †5<sup>v</sup>, †7<sup>v</sup>-†8<sup>r</sup>, and pp. 56-57, 76-77, 88-98, 108-09, and 240-42.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 211.

*Copies :*

Amsterdam, UB-GU, 1083 C 30\*; Amsterdam, UB-VU, XH. 05543\*; Aschaffenburg, Stift, H-1101/Bb.1; Basle, UB, Frey-Gryn P V 20 and Aleph F VIII 17; Edinburgh, NL, D.N.S. 229\*; Erfurt, WAB, Lr 2862; Erlangen, UB, Phl. IX, 144\*, Phl. IX, 144<sup>aa</sup>\*, and Trew N\* 561-563; Flensburg, AG, A1 III 392; Ghent, UB, B.L. 1757\*; Halle (Saale), HBFS, 159 F 13; Heverlee, CDRR, 2.240 E.3; Leningrad, BAH,  $\frac{7164.0.}{10444.R.}$  and  $\frac{8005.0.}{12884.R.}$ ; Leningrad, PB, 6.2c.6.15; Minneapolis (Minn.), UL, Y879Sch65 IG86; Münster, UB, X 3651\*; Oxford, Bodleian, 8° S 120 Art.\*; Paris, Arsenal, 8° BL 5871; Prague, SK, R II Gg 26; Regensburg, SB, Lat. rec. 113\*; Schwerin, WAB, Ncc V 1500; Toruń, Główna, Ob.7.II.2158; Uppsala, UB, Script. lat. recent. [Schonaeus]; Urbana (Ill.), UL, Baldwin 1198; Warsaw, Narodowa, XVII.2.6298 and XVII.2.8629; Weimar, ZB, 8° XXXVIII, 102; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Li 8065\* and P 1718.8° Helmst.\*; Wrocław, BU, 478758; Wuppertal, StB, 81 Fl 1<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>.

45 LUCUBRATIONUM PARS TERTIA.

Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1618.

*Collation :*

8° (31 ll., 128 × 68 mm. [A7<sup>r</sup>]): A-T<sup>8</sup> V<sup>4</sup> [\$5 signed (– A1, V4,5)], 156 leaves, pp. 1-2 3-312 [misnumbering (*var*: 29 as '19', 34-5 as '36-7', 46 as '43'), 54 as '53', 61 as '51', 62 as '63', 64 as '46', 109 as '119', (*var*: 143 as '141', 246 as '346'), 252 as '152', (*var*: 288 as '264'))].

*Contents :*

A1: title (verso blank). A2<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory letter: 'REVERENDO | D. DOMINO TILMAN- | NO à VVOV, RHODIANO- | RVM DOMINORVM APVD | HARLEMENSES PRÆ- | SVLI. | *Cornelius Schonæus S.*, dated on A3<sup>r</sup>: 'Harlemi,ipfis Calen- | dis Ianuarij,Anno | 1603.' A3<sup>v</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'AD CORNELIVM SCHO- | næum Præceptorem olim | fuum.' (26 ll. 'D<sup>2</sup>VM mea mens varijs mærorum quassa procellis') signed 'PETRVS SCHRIVERIVS Harlemensis.' A4<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory poem: 'EPIGRAMMA. | IN TERTIAM LVCVBRATIO- | num Cornelij Schonæi partem.' (20 ll. 'F<sup>2</sup>Efta coronatis niteant aulæa sheatris [sic],') signed 'Theodorus Schrevelius.' A4<sup>v</sup>: 'BAPTISTES | SACRA ET NOVA | TRAGICO COMOEDIA.' A5<sup>r</sup>: 'ARGVMENTVM IN BAPTI- | ften,Carmine heroico redditum.' (17 ll. 'I<sup>2</sup>LLE falutiferi vocalis buccina Regis,') signed 'Theodorus Schrevelius.' On D2<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' D3<sup>r</sup>: 'DYSCOLI | COMOEDIA NOVA.' ending on F4<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' F5<sup>r</sup>: 'PSEVDOSTRA- | TIOTÆ. | Fabula Ludicra.' ending on H7<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' H8<sup>r</sup>: 'CVNAE FA- | BVLA LVDICRA.' ending on L1<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' L1<sup>v</sup>: 'VITVLVS, FA- | BVLA LVDICRA.' ending on N5<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' N5<sup>v</sup>: 'LIBER ELEGIARVM.' ending on Q5<sup>v</sup>: 'Finis Elegiarum.' and followed by an orn. N6<sup>r</sup>: 'LIBER EPI- | GRAMMATVM.', introduced by a dedicatory letter: 'PROBITATE, ATQVE ERVDITIONE | *Infigni*, EVGENIO PEREBOMIO Goudano, | *Cornelius Schonæus S.*' (N6<sup>r</sup>-v) and ending on V4<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.', followed by Schonæus's *symbolum*: 'NVLLVM SIMVLATVM DIVTVRNV.' and an orn.

*Notes :*

A paginal resetting from the 1614 Cologne edition (= No. 42) except for pp. 3-5, 51-52, 111-12, 162-63, 174-75, 200-01, 230-31, 233-36, 238-39, 252-55, 258-62, 265-66, 269-71, 273-74, 276-80, 282-84, and 309-11.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 211.

*Copies :*

Amsterdam, UB-GU, 1083 C 30\*; Amsterdam, UB-VU, XH. 05543\*; Aschaffenburg, Stift, H-1101/Bb.2; Basle, UB, Aleph F VIII 17; Erfurt, WAB, Lr 2862;



Erlangen, UB, Phl. IX, 144\*, Phl. IX, 144<sup>aa\*</sup>, and Trew N\* 561-563; Flensburg, AG, Al III 392; Ghent, UB, B.L. 1757\*; Halle (Saale), HBFS, 159 F 13 and 162 G 14; Heverlee, CDRR, 2.240 E.3; Leningrad, BAH,  $\frac{7164.0}{10444.R.}$  and  $\frac{8005.0}{12884.R.}$ ; Leningrad, PB, 6.2c.6.15; Minneapolis (Minn.), UL, Y879Sch65 IG86; Münster, UB, X 3651\* (page numerals 201 and 202 cut off); Paris, Arsenal, 8° BL 5871; Regensburg, SB, Lat. rec. 113\*; Rome, Alessandrina, M.f.27-28; Schwerin, WAB, Ncc V 1500; Uppsala, UB, Script. lat. recent. [Schonaeus]; Urbana (Ill.), UL, Baldwin 1199; Warsaw, Narodowa, XVII.2.6298; Weimar, ZB, 8° XXXVIII, 102; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Li 8065\* and P 1718.8° Helmst.\*; Wuppertal, StB, 81 Fl 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

46 TERENCE CHRISTIANUS SEU COMOEDIAE SACRAE SEX.  
Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1620.

*Collation :*

8° (31 ll., 129 × 67 mm. [A8<sup>v</sup>]): \*<sup>8</sup> A-C<sup>8</sup> D<sup>6</sup> E<sup>10</sup> F-L<sup>8</sup> M<sup>4</sup> N-2A<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (+E6,8,9,10; -\*1,3, M4,5; F5 signed 'H5', R5 signed 'S5', T4 signed 'K4', 2A3 signed 'A3')], 196 leaves, pp. [16], 1-60; <sup>2</sup>1-68 [misnumbering 10 as '20', 18 as '28', 35 as '53', 46 as '45']; <sup>3</sup>1 2 3-56; <sup>4</sup>1-61 62-64 [misnumbering 61 as '16']; <sup>5</sup>1-63 64 [misnumbering 6 as '8']; <sup>6</sup>1-64 [misnumbering 3 as '2', 55 as '35', 59 as '57'].

*Contents :*

\*1: title (verso blank). \*2<sup>r</sup>: foreword [by Cornelius Loosaeus Callidius]: 'PRÆFATIO. | CANDIDO LECTO- | RI, PVRITATI ET ELEGANTIAE LA- | tini sermonis studiofo: & inprimis Gymnasiarchis, | Rectoribus, Didascalis, cæterisq<sub>3</sub> studioæ | pubis formatoribus S.' ending on \*8<sup>v</sup> with a type orn. below. A1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | NAAMAN.' ending on D6<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' E1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | TOBÆVS.' ending on H8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' I1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | NEHEMIAS.' ending on M4<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' N1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | SAVLVS.' ending on Q7<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by an orn. Q7<sup>v</sup>-Q8<sup>v</sup>: blank. R1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | IOSEPHVS.' ending on V8<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' V8<sup>v</sup>: blank. X1<sup>r</sup>: [band of type orns] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI | IVDITHA.' ending on 2A8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by an orn.

*Notes :*

A paginal resetting from the 1614 Cologne edition (= No. 41) except for pp. 50-51 of the play *Nehemias*.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 210.

*Copies :*

Amsterdam, UB-VU, XH. 05543\* (page number 4 of the play *Iuditha* is badly inked); Aschaffenburg, Stift, H-1101; Basle, UB, Frey-Gryn P V 20 and Aleph F VIII 17; Düsseldorf, UB, Ev.G. 1185; Edinburgh, NL, D.N.S. 229\* and Rob.II.3.53/1\*; Erfurt, WAB, Lr 2862; Erlangen, UB, Phl. IX, 144\*\*\*; Flensburg, AG, Al III 392; Halle (Saale), HBFS, 159 F 13 (title-leaf missing); Heverlee, CDRR, 2.240 E.3; Leningrad, BAH,  $\frac{7164.0.}{10444.R.}$  and  $\frac{8005.0.}{12884.R.}$ ; Leningrad, PB, 6.2c.6.15; Münster, UB, X 3651\* and X 3651<sup>d</sup>\*; Oxford, Bodleian, 8° S 120 Art.\*; Paris, Arsenal, 8° BL 5871; Prague, SK, R II Gg 26; Regensburg, SB, Lat. rec. 113\*; Schwerin, WAB, Ncc V 1500; Toruń, Główna, Ob.7.II.2158; Uppsala, UB, Script. lat. recent. [Schonaeus]; Urbana (Ill.), UL, Baldwin 1197 and Neo-Latin Plays; Vilnius, Mokslinė, III 5623-5624/1 and III 5710/1; Warsaw, Narodowa, XVII.2.6298 and XVII.2.8629; Weimar, ZB, 8° XXXVIII, 102; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Li 8065\* and P 1718.8° Helmst.\*; Wuppertal, StB, 81 Fl 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

- 47 TERENCE CHRISTIANUS SIVE COMOEDIAE DUAE [TOBAEUS, IUDITHA], PSEUDOSTRATIOTES.

London, Thomas Snodham for the Stationers' Company, 1620.

*Collation :*

8° (30 ll., 122 × 68 mm. [A4<sup>r</sup>]): A-M<sup>8</sup> [\$4 signed (–A1)], 96 leaves, pp. 1-2 3-190 191-192 [misnumbering 39 as '55', 153 as '135', 182 as '128'].

*Contents :*

A1<sup>r</sup>: title. A1<sup>v</sup>: foreword [by the editor]: '*Ad Lectorem.*' On A1<sup>v</sup>: [TOBÆVS] ending on E6<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' E6<sup>v</sup>: 'IVDITHA.' ending on I7<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' I7<sup>v</sup>: 'PSEVDOSTRATIOTAE | FABVLA IOCOSA, | atque ludica.' ending on M7<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' M8: blank.

*Notes :*

A paginal resetting from the 1615 London edition (= No. 43).

The printer appears from his device on the title-page to be Thomas Snodham. See also NSTC 21822.

For this printer's device, see McKerrow, *Devices*, No. 227; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 86-87 and 170<sup>b</sup>.

The work is entered in the Registers of the Stationers' Company, 5 March 1620, as: '*TERENTIUS Christianus.*' and it belongs to the category 'SCHOOLE BOOKES'<sup>77</sup>.

<sup>77</sup> For this entry, see Edward Arber (ed.), *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640 A.D.*, 5 vols (London and Birmingham, 1875-94; reprint Gloucester, Mass., 1967), III (1876; reprint 1967), 669-70.

For a note on the English editions of two of Schonaeus's biblical dramas under the title *Terentius Christianus* and his farce *Pseudostratotes*, see the notes to No. 17 above.

*Copies :*

London, BL, 11712.aa.8\*; Oxford, Exeter, 9M 21822\*; San Marino (Calif.), Huntington, C 21822 215225.

- 48 TRIUMPHUS CHRISTI Seu Comoedia sacra de Resurrectione et Manifestatione Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi.  
Greifswald, Hans Witte, 1623.

*Collation :*

8° (28 ll., 116 × 72 mm. [C4<sup>v</sup>]): A-C<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (–A1)], 24 leaves, unnumbered [pp. 1-48].

*Contents :*

A1 : title (verso blank). A2<sup>r</sup> : text of the play, ending on C7<sup>v</sup> : 'FINIS.' and followed by an orn. C8 : blank.

*Note :*

There are indications that the text of this edition of the *Triumphus Christi* was set from a copy of the second part of Schonaeus's *Terentius Christianus* which had been printed at Cologne in 1618 (= No. 44, sigs F5<sup>v</sup>-H8<sup>v</sup>, i.e. pp. 90-128).

*Copy :*

Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 518.1 Quodl. (1)\*.

- 49 GRAMMATICA [LATINA].  
Gouda, Jasper Tournay, 1623, 8°.

*Notes :*

For this edition of Schonaeus's Latin school grammar, see the auction catalogue of the first sale of the library of Petrus Sc(h)riverius, viz. the *Bibliotheca Scriveriana exquisitissimis omnium facultatum, scientiarum, et artium, diversarumque linguarum libris, excellentissima*, ... [Auction held on 3 April 1663 and following days] (Amsterdam, 1663), sig. II<sup>r</sup>, No. 25 of the 'MISCELLANICI In Octavo':<sup>78</sup>

'Corn. Schonae [sic] Grammatica. Goudae typ. Casp. Tornaei 1623'.

I know of no extant copy of this edition.

<sup>78</sup> Copies of this catalogue are, e.g., in Brussels, KB, V.H. 22670 B (1) LP; London, BL, S.C. 921 (5); and Wolfenbüttel, HAB, Bc Sammelband 5 (3 and 15).

For notes on Schonaeus's Latin grammar, see the notes to Nos 10 and 12 above.

# 50 JOSEPHUS.

Altdorf, [Balthasar Scherf], 1624, 8°.

## Notes :

This 1624 Altdorf edition of Schonaeus's *Josephus* is mentioned in a sale catalogue, viz. in the *Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Theological Works, in the Learned and other Foreign Languages. On sale by John Bohn, 17, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden ...* (London, Printed by Thomas Richards, for the Executors of the Late C. Richards, 100, St. Martin's Lane, 1842), on page 439, No. 6908, as: 'SCHONÆI (Cornelii) Josephus; small 8vo, sewed, 3s. *Altorphii*, 1624'<sup>79</sup>.

In the Erlangen-Nuremberg University Library copy (shelf-mark: Phl. IX, 144<sup>aa</sup>) of the 1620 Cologne edition of the first part of Schonaeus's *Terentius Christianus* (= No. 46), a contemporary hand has made the following annotation on the first page of the play *Iosephus*: 'Acta Altorphi â M: Speccio anno j624 die D. Petri Pauli'<sup>80</sup>. Therefore there can be little doubt that the play was printed to coincide with this performance on the stage of the Academia Altorfina at the annual celebration of its patronal festival, SS Peter and Paul, 29 June<sup>81</sup>.

The printer of this edition must have been Balthasar Scherf who, according to Benzing, p. 3, No. 5, was printer to the University at Altdorf in this time. I know of no extant copy of this edition.

<sup>79</sup> A copy of this catalogue is to be found in Amsterdam, VBBB, Antiquariaats- en magazijn-catalogi (s.v. *Bohn*). It was kindly brought to my attention by Mr F. van den Bosch, Assistant at this library.

<sup>80</sup> For Christoph Speck, see J. Bolte, 'Speccius: Christoph S.', in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XXXV (Leipzig, 1893; reprint Berlin, 1971), p. 76 and the literature referred to there. Cf. also Elias von Steinmeyer, *Die Matrikel der Universität Altdorf*, 2 vols (Würzburg, 1912; reprint Nendeln, 1980) [= *Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Fränkische Geschichte. Vierte Reihe. Matrikeln Fränkischer Schulen* 1 and 2], esp. II, 547 (note 12).

<sup>81</sup> See also Georg Andreas Will, *Bibliotheca Norica Williana oder kritisches Verzeichniß aller Schriften, welche die Stadt Nürnberg angehen*, ..., 8 parts (in 4 vols) (Altdorf and Nuremberg, 1772-93), V (1775), 255 (ad 1465): 'Terentii Christiani Iosephus in publ. theat. productus in incl. Nor. Acad. Alt. Paneg. XLVIII. Alt. 1624' (a copy of this work by Will is in Nuremberg, StB, Will III, 77.4°); Frederick John Stopp, *The Emblems of the Altdorf Academy: Medals and Medal Orations 1577-1626* (London, 1974) [= *Modern Humanities Research Association Publications* 6], pp. 79-80 and 204-05; and id., 'Latin Plays at the Academy of Altdorf, 1577-1626', *Journal of European Studies*, 4 (1974), 189-213 (pp. 200 (Fig. 3), 208-09, and 213).

Johannes Bolte also mentions this 1624 Altdorf edition of Schonaeus's *Josephus* in his review 'Alexander v. Weilen, Der ägyptische Joseph im Drama des 16. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Litteraturgeschichte. Wien, Hölder, 1887', *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 8 (1887), cols 1513-15 (col. 1515).

- 51 TERENCE CHRISTIANUS SIVE COMOEDIAE DUAE [TOBAEUS, IUDITHA], PSEUDOSTRATIOTES.

London, Thomas Snodham for the Stationers' Company, 1625.

*Collation :*

8° (30 ll., 122 × 67 mm. [A4<sup>r</sup>]): A-M<sup>8</sup> [\$4 signed (–A1)], 96 leaves, pp. 1-2 3-190 191-192.

*Contents :*

A1<sup>r</sup>: title. A1<sup>v</sup>: foreword [by the editor]: 'Ad Lectorem.' On A1<sup>v</sup>: [TOBÆVS] ending on E6<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' E6<sup>v</sup>: 'IVDITHA.' ending on I7<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' I7<sup>v</sup>: 'PSEVDOSTRATIOTAE | FABVLA IOCOSA, | atque ludicra.' ending on M7<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' M8: blank.

*Notes :*

A paginal resetting from the 1620 London edition (= No. 47).

The printer appears from his device on the title-page to be Thomas Snodham.

For this printer's device, see McKerrow, *Devices*, No. 227; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 86-87 and 170<sup>b</sup>.

For a note on the English editions of two of Schonaeus's biblical dramas under the title *Terentius Christianus* and his farce *Pseudostratiotes*, see the notes to No. 17 above.

*Copies :*

Bordeaux, BM, B 6947\* (I6 and blank M8 missing); Cambridge, Magdalene, F.9.52\* (M7 and blank M8 missing); Cambridge, Queens', I.8.23 (this copy was available to me in the form of microfilm; blank M8 is reported present); Maldon, Plume, shelf-mark unknown (this copy was available to me in the form of photocopies; blank M8 is reported present); Urbana (Ill.), UL, Baldwin 1200 (blank M8 is reported present).

- 52 LUCUBRATIONUM PARS TERTIA.

Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1628.

*Collation :*

8° (31 ll., 129 × 70 mm. [A4<sup>v</sup>]): A-P<sup>8</sup> [\$5 signed (–A1; F5 signed 'E5', G3 signed 'F3')], 120 leaves, pp. 1-3 4-117 118 119-237 238-240 [misnumbering 109 as '112', 112 as '114', 114-15 as '116-17', 119 as '121', 122-23 as '124-25', 125 as '126', 126-27 as '128-26', 140 as '40', 154 as '134', 155 as '153', 193 as '192'].

*Contents :*

A1: title (verso blank). A2<sup>r</sup>: dedicatory letter: 'REVERENDO D. | DOMINO TILMANNO à VVOV | RHODIANORVM

DOMINORVM | APUT [sic] HARLEMENSES PRÆ- | SVLI, |  
*Cornelius Schonæus S.*, dated on A2<sup>v</sup>: 'Harlemi, ipfis | Calendis  
 Ianuarij, Anno 1603.' A3<sup>r</sup>: 'BAPTISTES | SACRA ET NOVA |  
 TRAGICO COMOEDIA.' ending on C7<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' C7<sup>v</sup>: 'DYSCOLI |  
 COMOEDIA NOVA.' ending on E8<sup>v</sup>: 'FINIS.' F1<sup>r</sup>: 'PSEVDOSTRA- |  
 TIOTÆ. | Fabula Ludicra.' ending on H3<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' H3<sup>v</sup>: 'CVNAE  
 FA- | BVLA LVDICRA.' ending on K4<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by a  
 group of type orns. K4<sup>v</sup>: 'VITVLVS, FA- | BVLA LVDICRA.'  
 ending on M7<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS.' and followed by a group of type orns. M7<sup>v</sup>:  
 'LIBER ELEGIARVM.' ending on P7<sup>r</sup>: 'FINIS ELEGIARVM.' and  
 followed by a group of type orns. P7<sup>v</sup>-P8<sup>v</sup>: blank.

*Notes :*

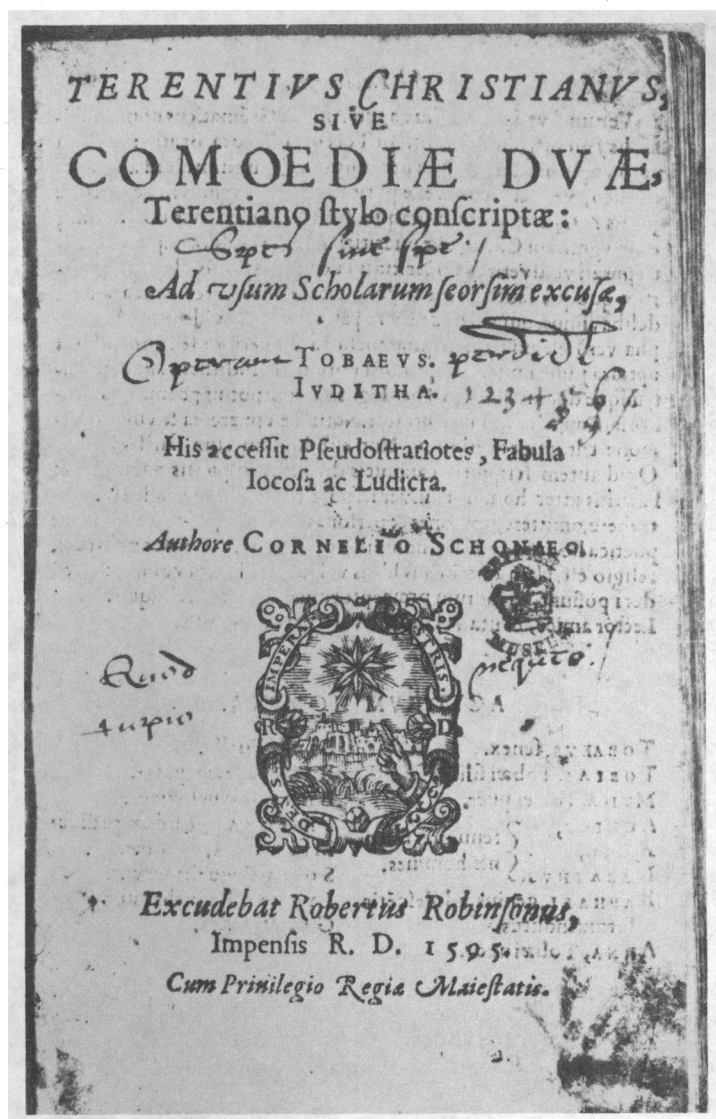
In all the traced copies listed below the book of epigrams is missing, so it is highly likely that this edition lacks the *Liber Epigrammatum*.

Presumably the text of this edition was set from a copy of the 1618 Cologne edition (= No. 45).

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 211.

*Copies :*

Edinburgh, NL, Rob.II.3.53b\* (blank P8 missing); Münster, UB, X 3651<sup>d</sup>\*;  
 Nijmegen, UB, 43 c 352\* ; Urbana (Ill.), UL, Neo-Latin Plays; Vilnius, Mokslinė,  
 III 5623-5624/3 and III 5710/3.



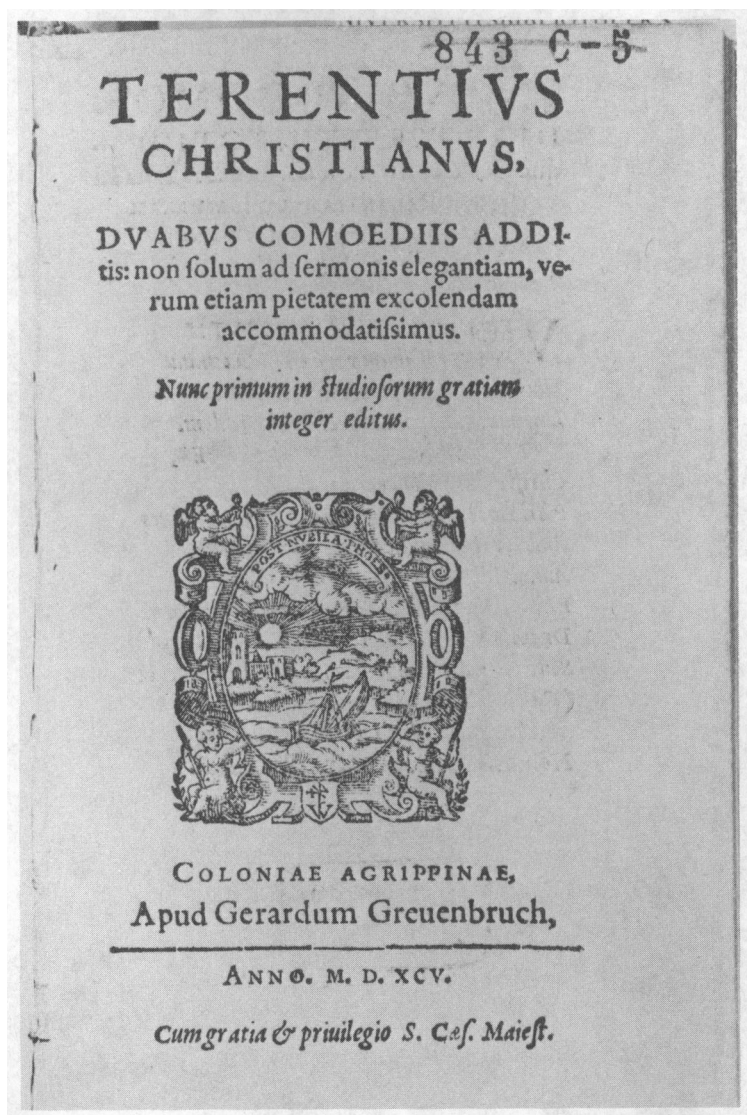


PLATE 19.

The Hague, KB, 1713 D 21

No. 18a.



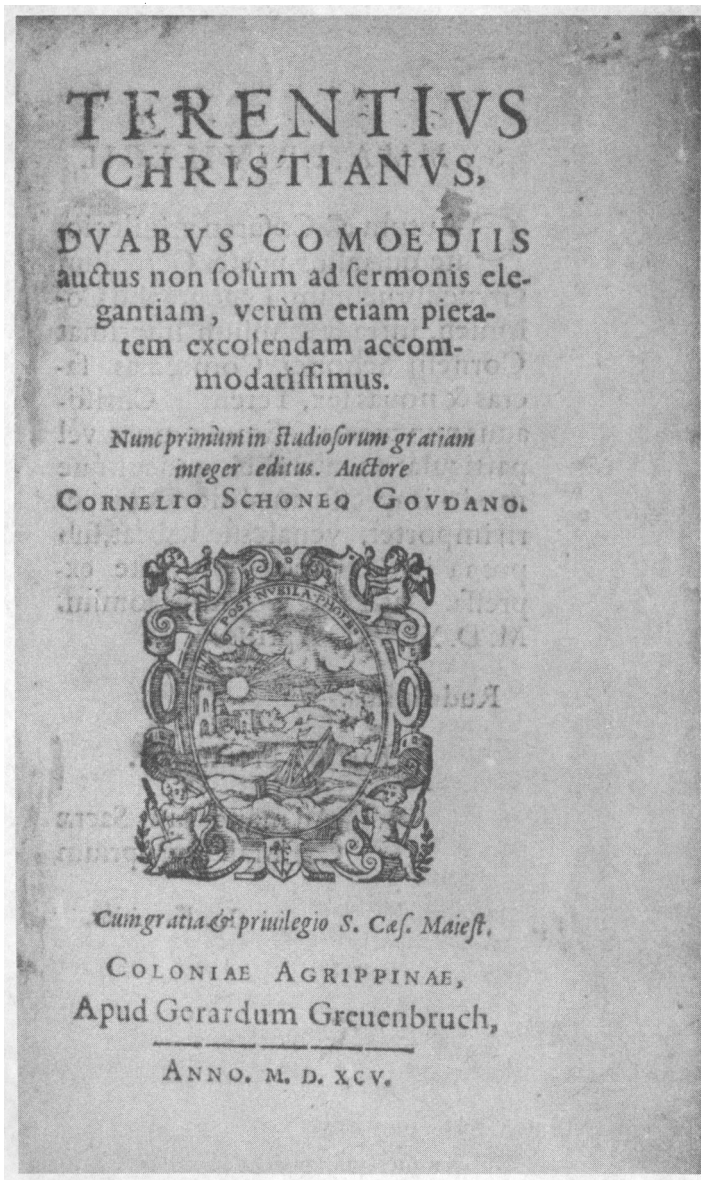


PLATE 20.

Washington, D.C., Folger, PA 8577  
S23 A3 1595 Cage

No. 18b.

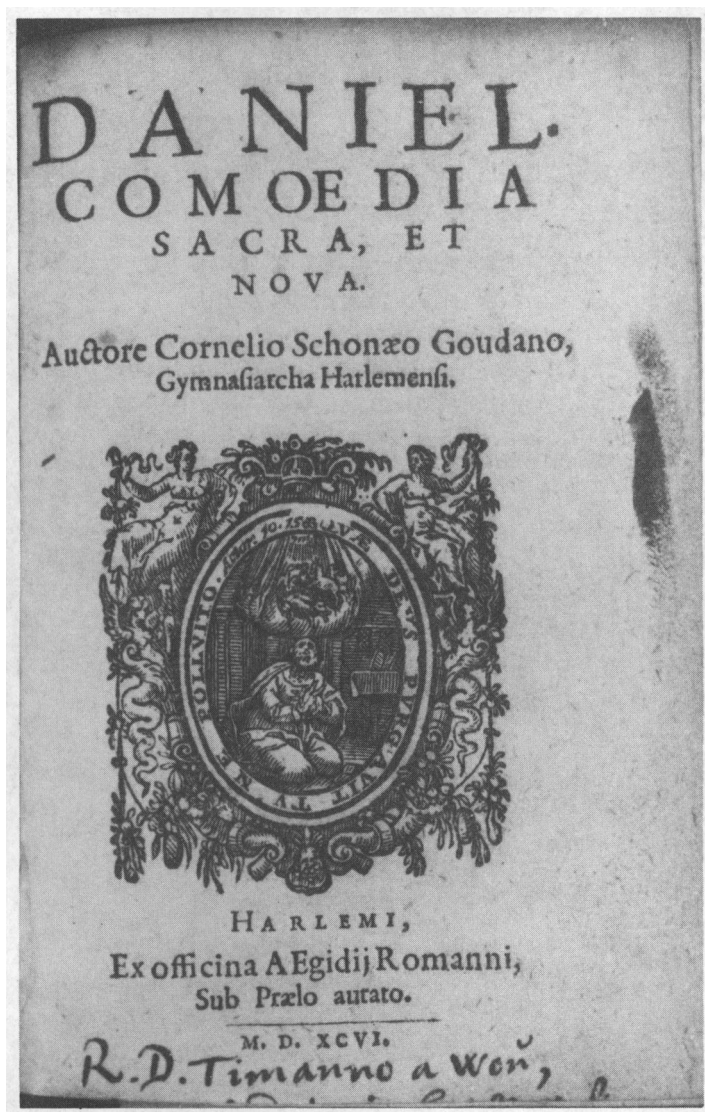


PLATE 21.

Leuven, BTF, 39 B RESC MIN 1592 (4)

No. 19.

This is a presentation copy to  
Timan van Wou with an inscription  
in the author's hand

# TERENTIUS CHRISTIANVS.

SEV

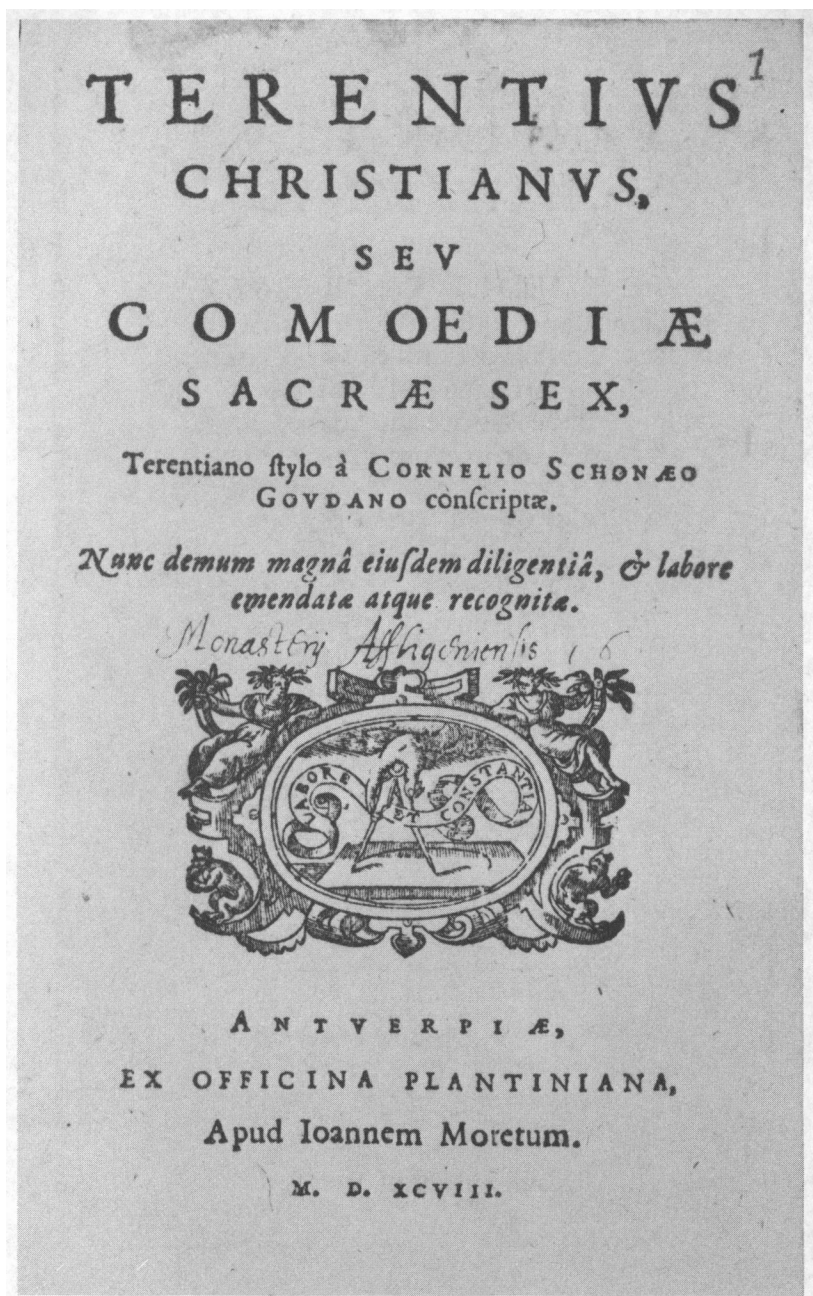
COMOEDIÆ SACRÆ SEX,  
Terentiano stylo a Cornelio Scho-  
nao Goudano conscriptæ: & nunc  
demum magna eiusdem diligen-  
tia, & labore emendatæ,  
atq; recognitæ.

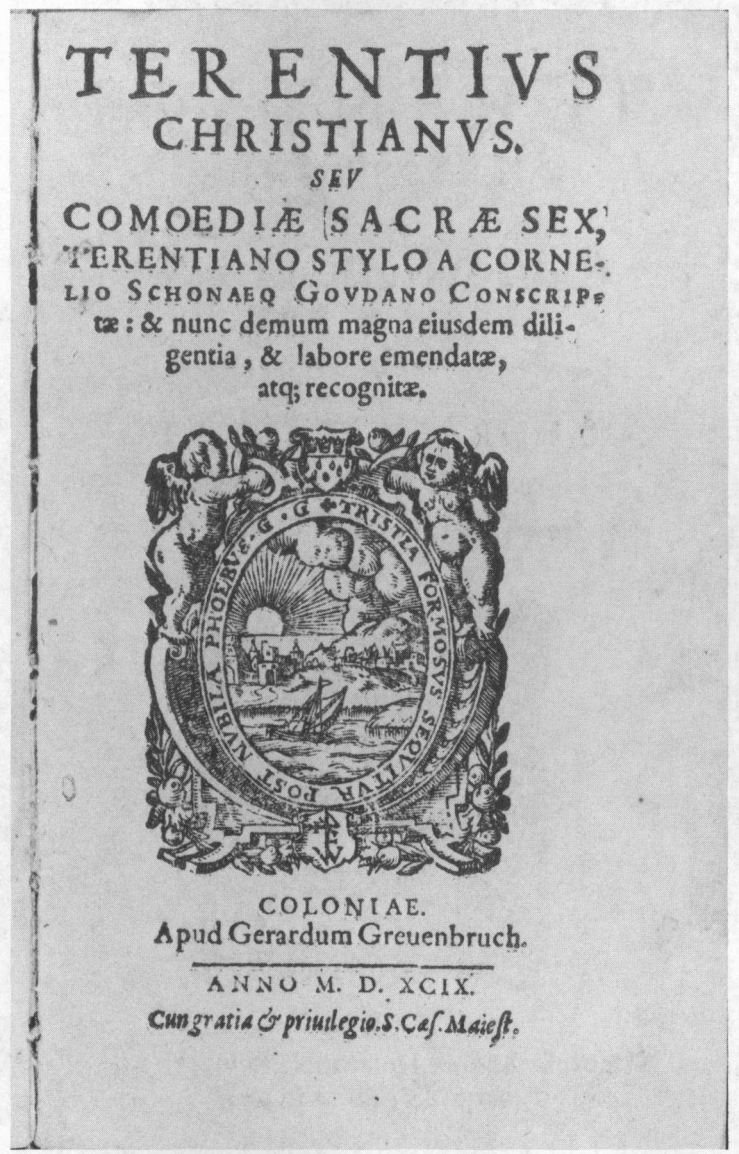


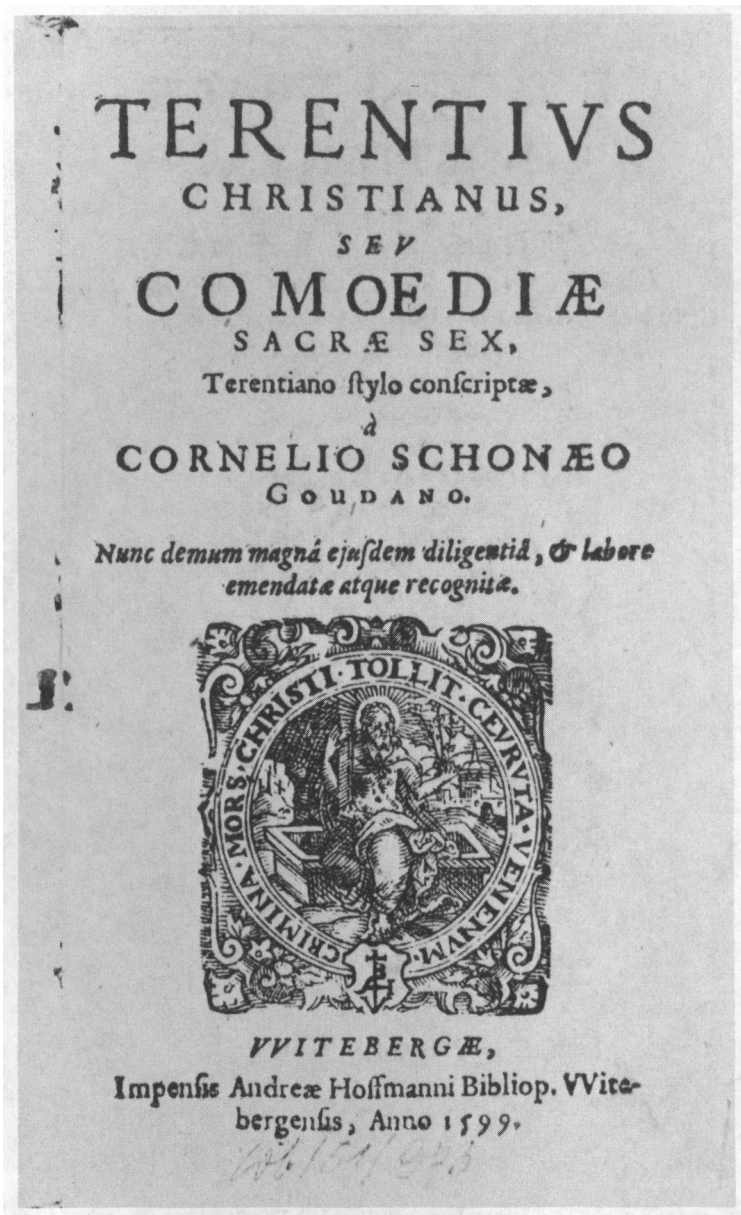
COLONIAE,  
Apud Gerardum Greuenbruch.

ANNO M. D. XCVI.

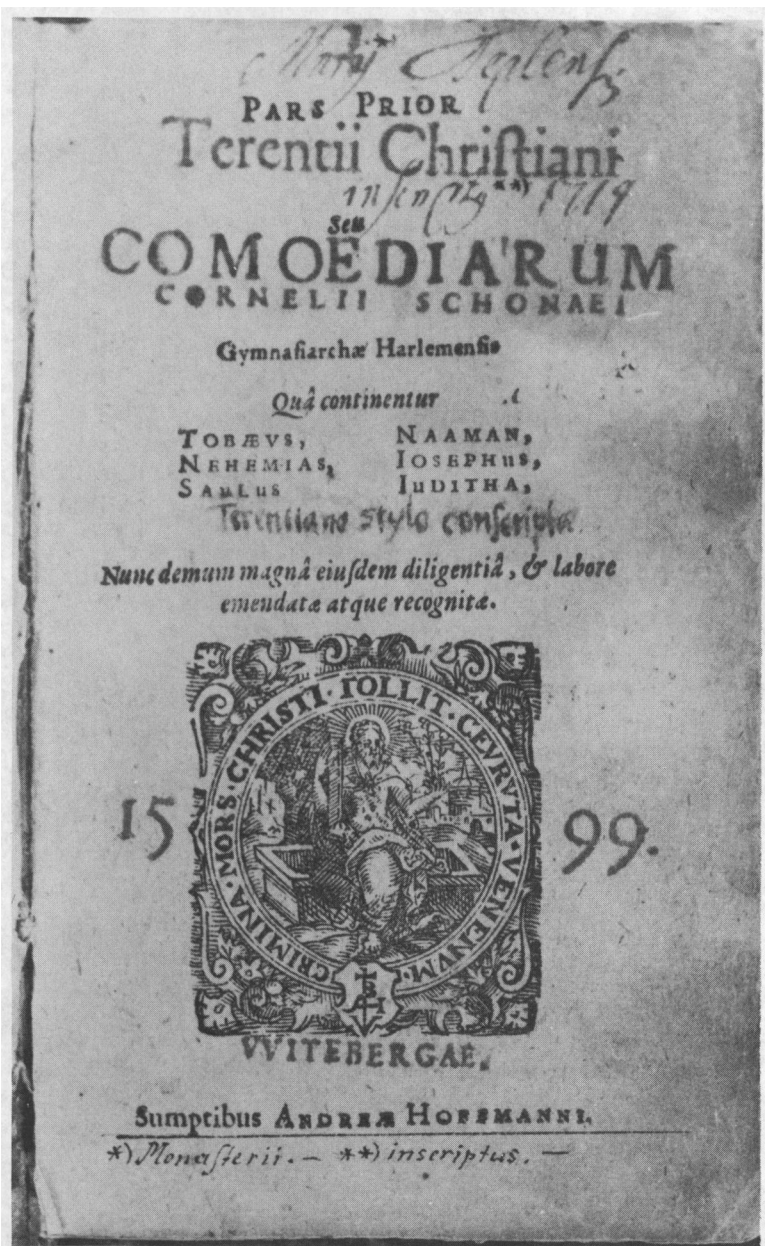
Cum gratia & priuilegio S. Cas. Maiest.

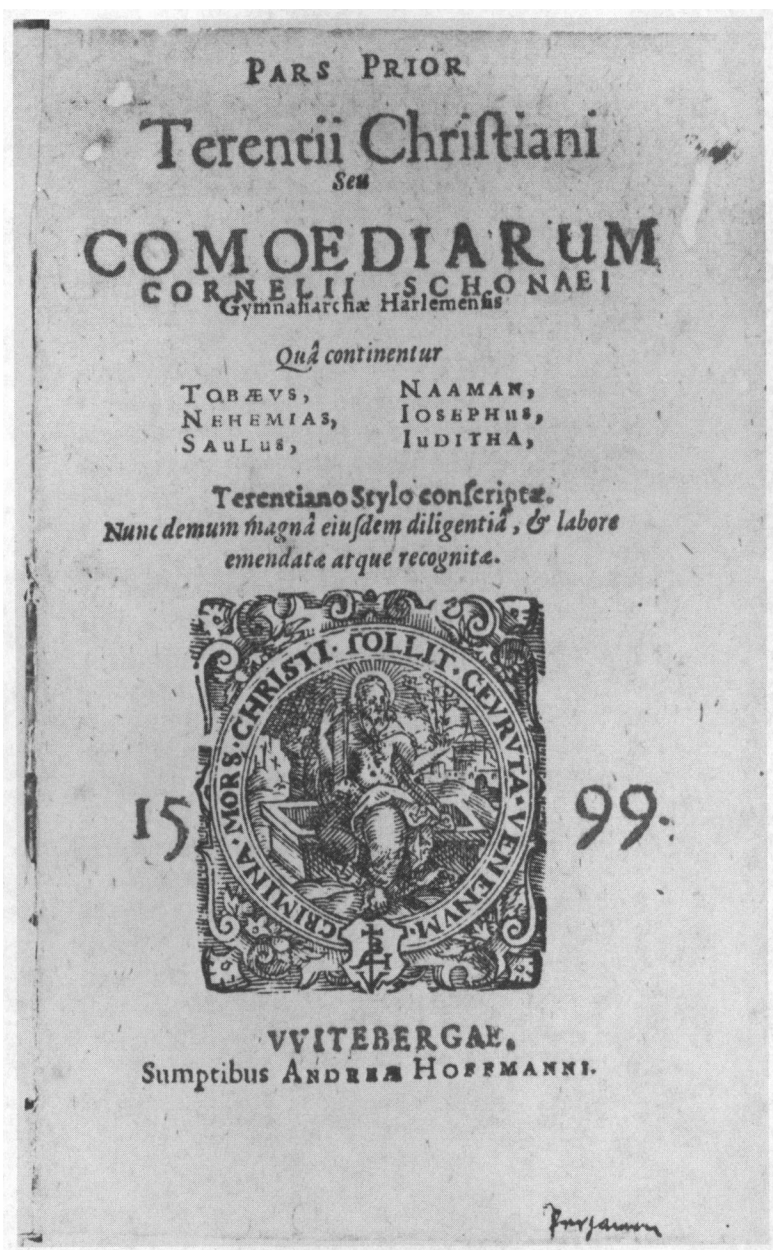














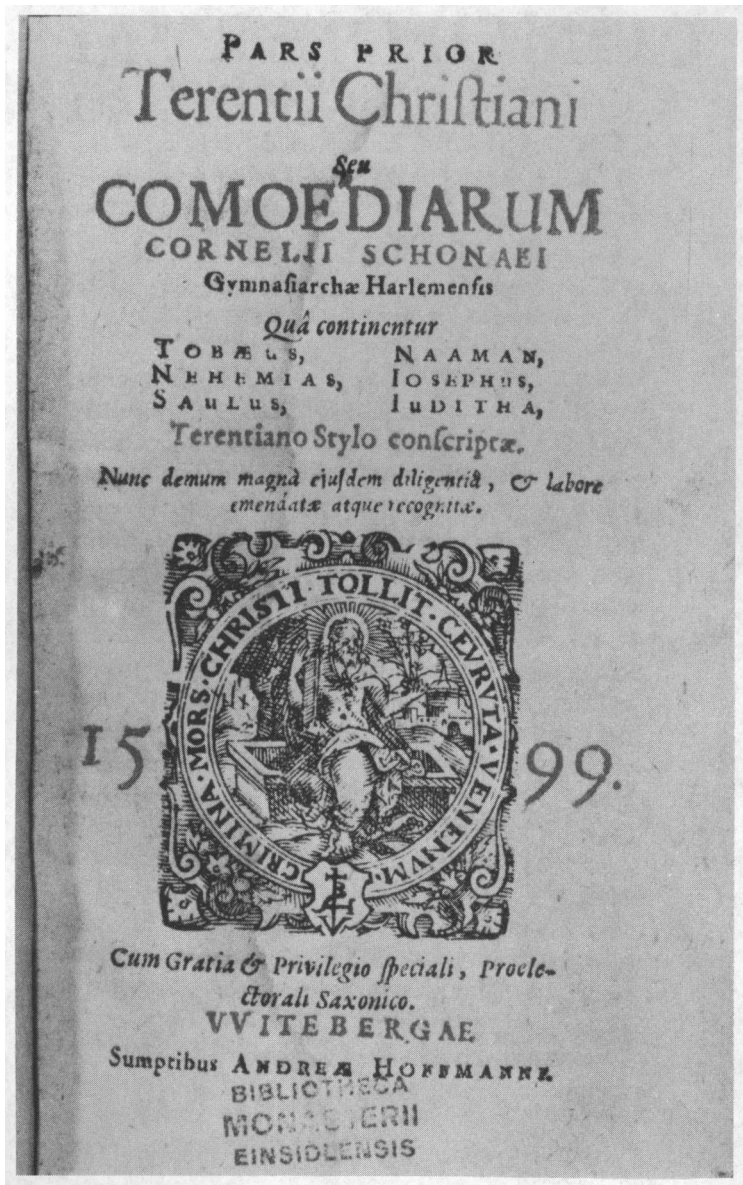


PLATE 28.

Einsiedeln, Stift, L1 2258

No. 24d.

# COMOEDIARVM

CORNELII SCHONAEI,

GYMNASIARCHÆ HARLEMEN-  
SIS ALTERA PARS: QUÆ  
continentur.

SUSANNA,  
DANIEL,  
TRIUMPHUS CHRISTI, } Comœdiæ sacræ.

PSEUDOSTRATIOTÆ,  
CUNÆ,  
VITULUS, } Fabulæ ludicræ.

*His pro Coronide accesserunt.*

LIBELLVS I. ELEGIARVM,  
ET ALTER EPIGRAMMATVM.



AMSTERODAMI,

Apud ZACHARIAM HEYNS, in tribus  
Virtutibus, An. cdo. lo. xcix.

*D. Cornelio Anrobi F. Gondano,  
Regidiano Dno.*

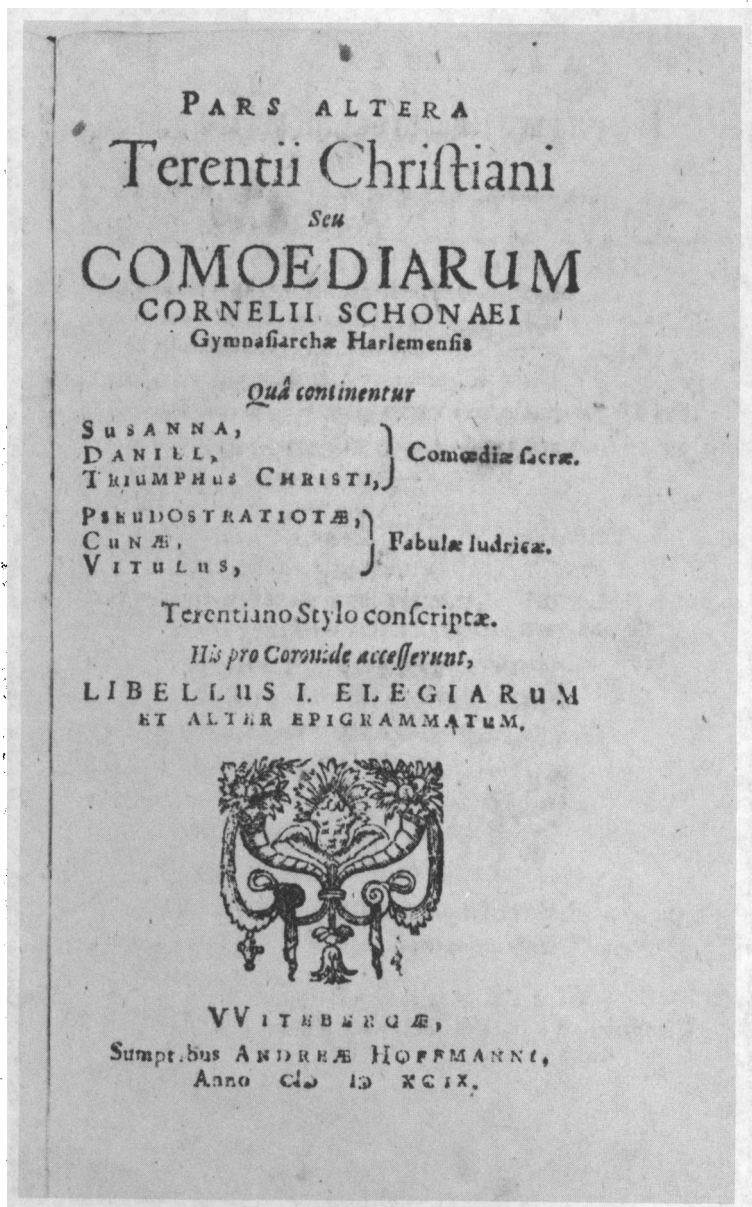
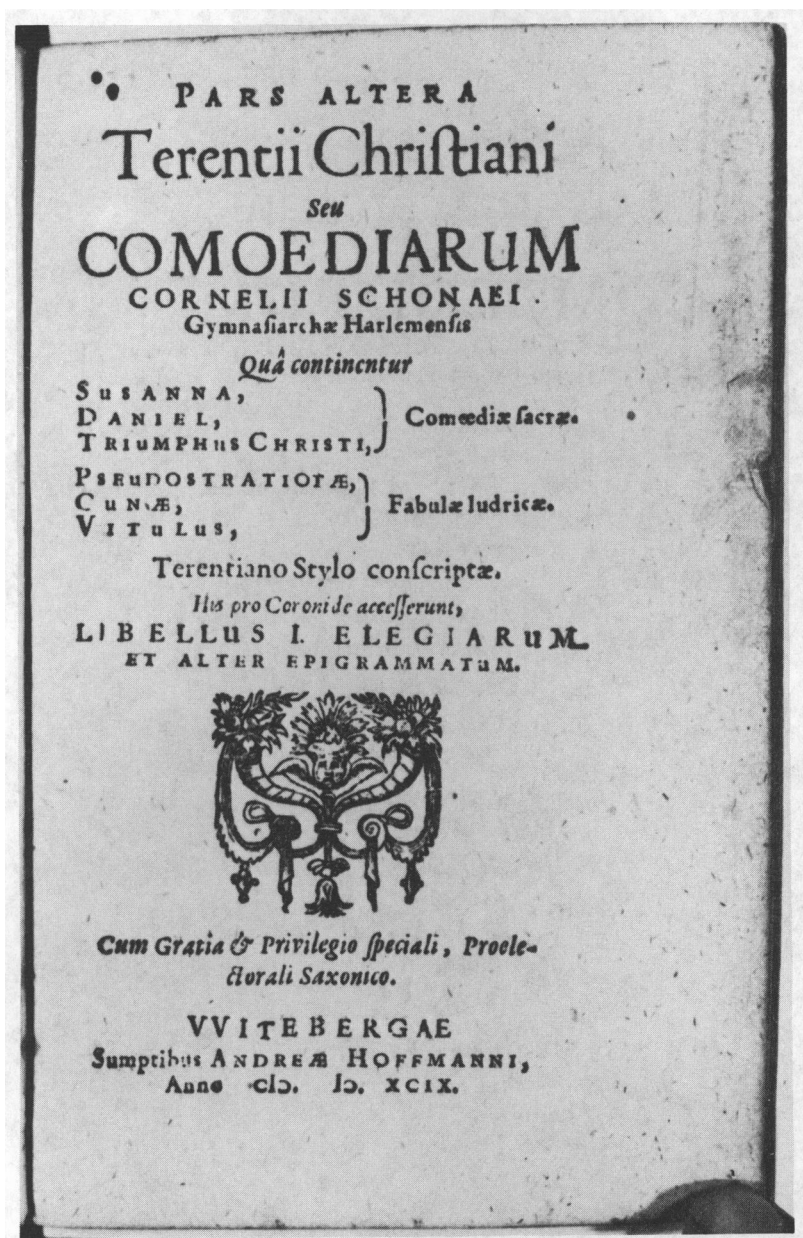


PLATE 30.

Halle (Saale), MB, W 3.44

No. 26a.



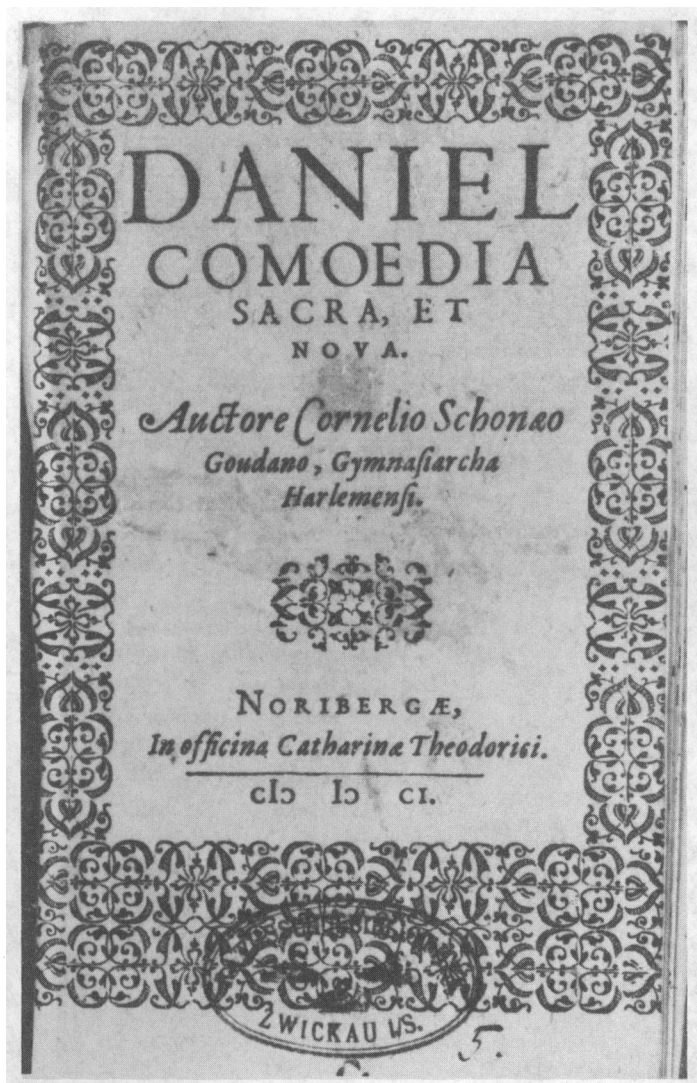


PLATE 32.

Zwickau, RB, 6.1.40/5

No. 27.

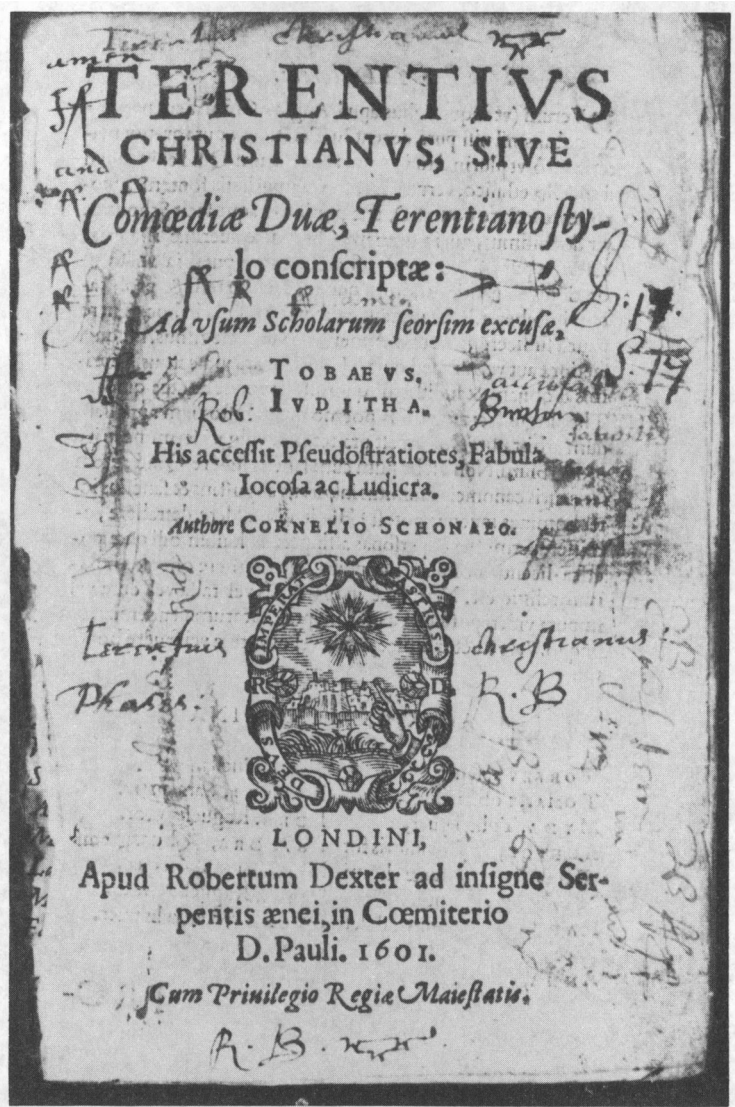


PLATE 33.

Oxford, Christ Church, f. 9.20

No. 28.



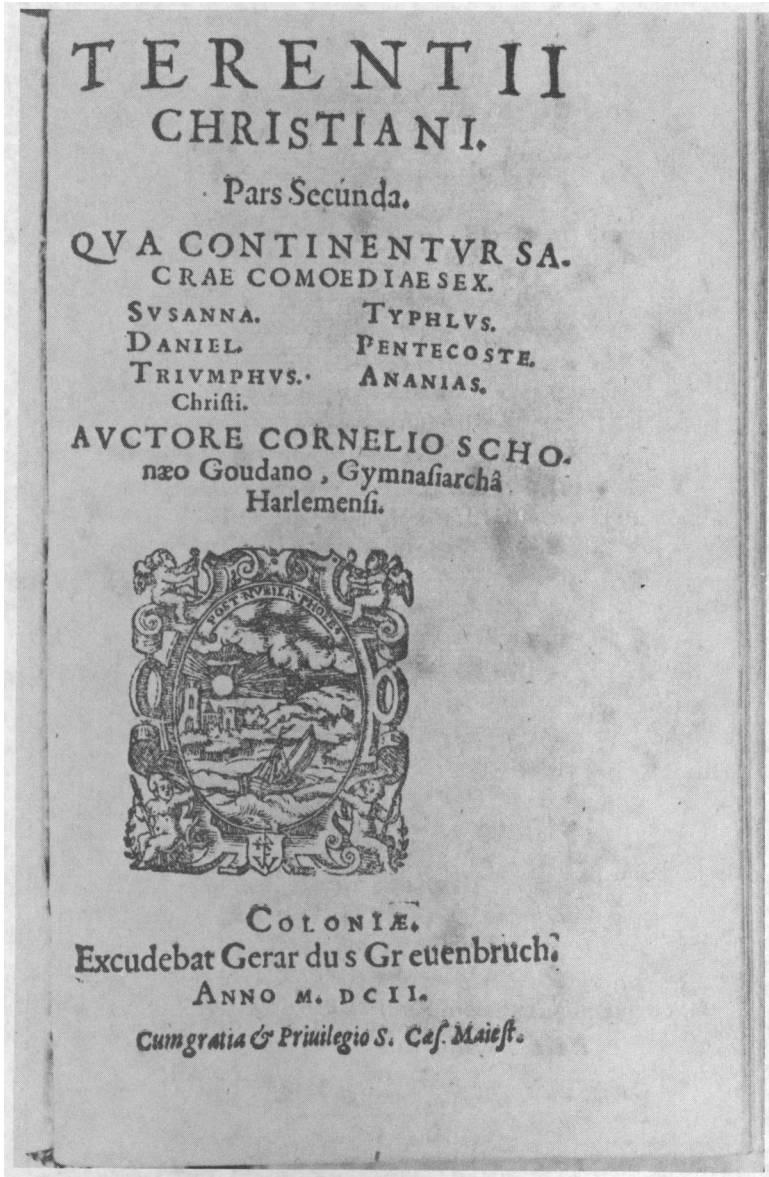
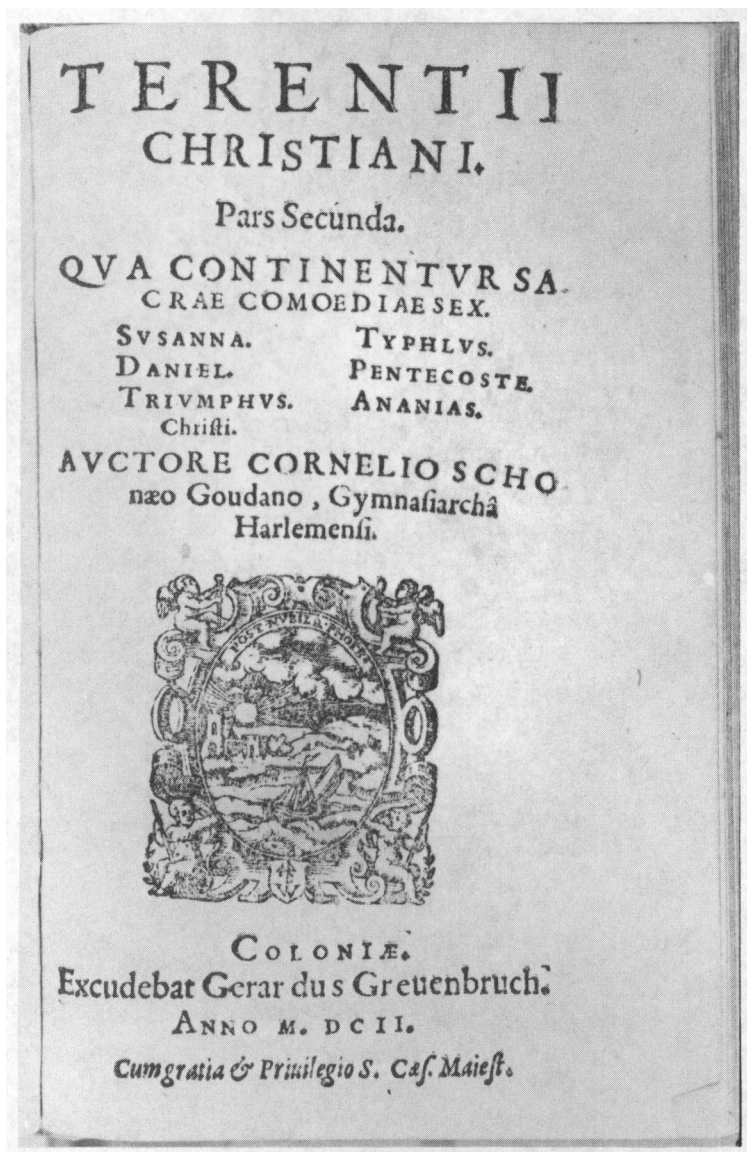


PLATE 34.

Eichstätt, UB, N II 824

No. 29a.





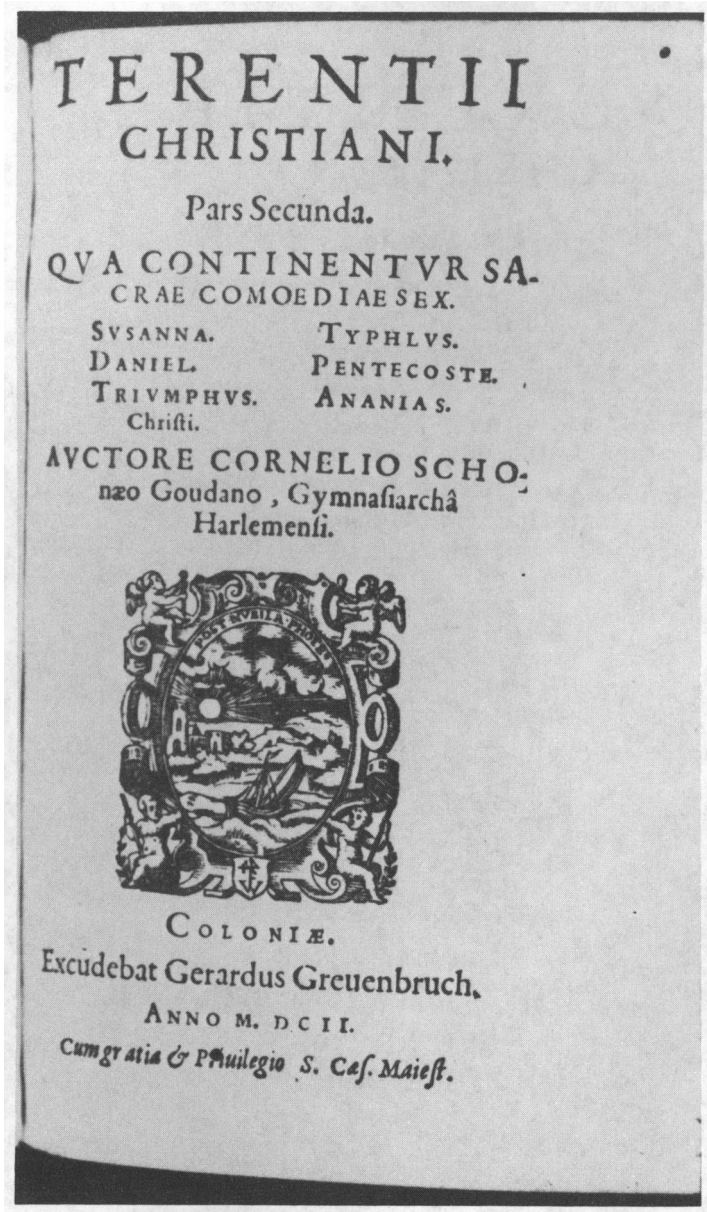
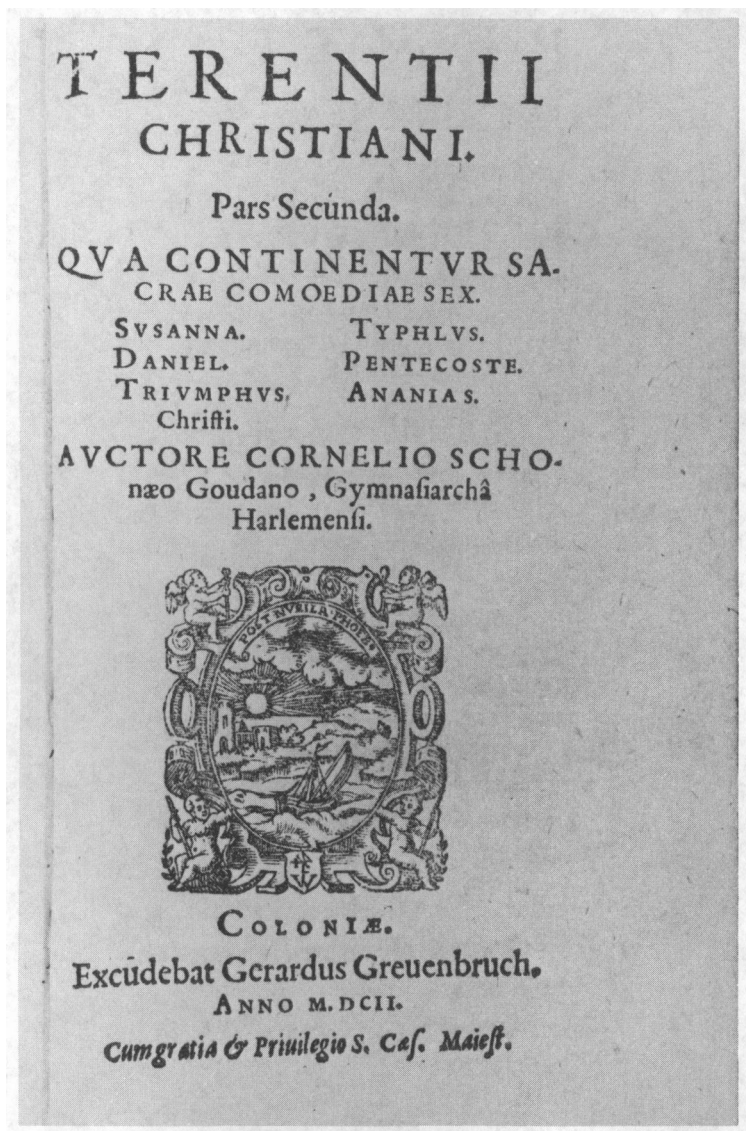
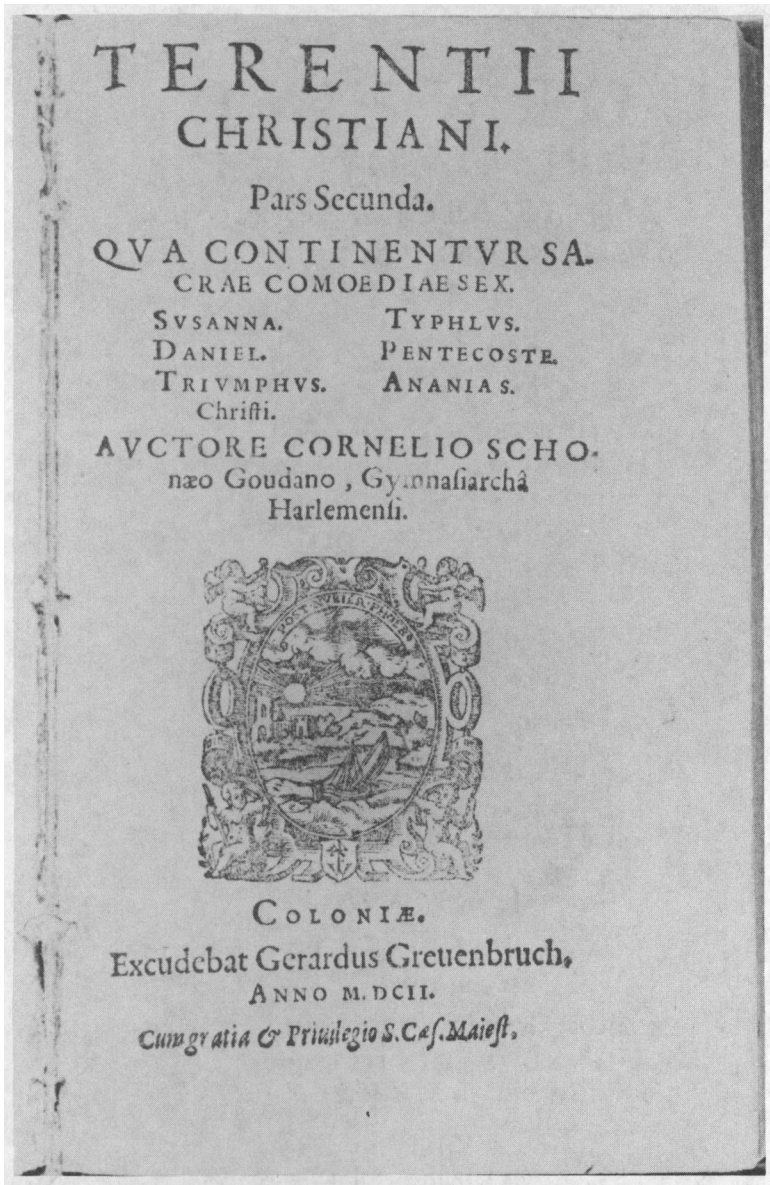


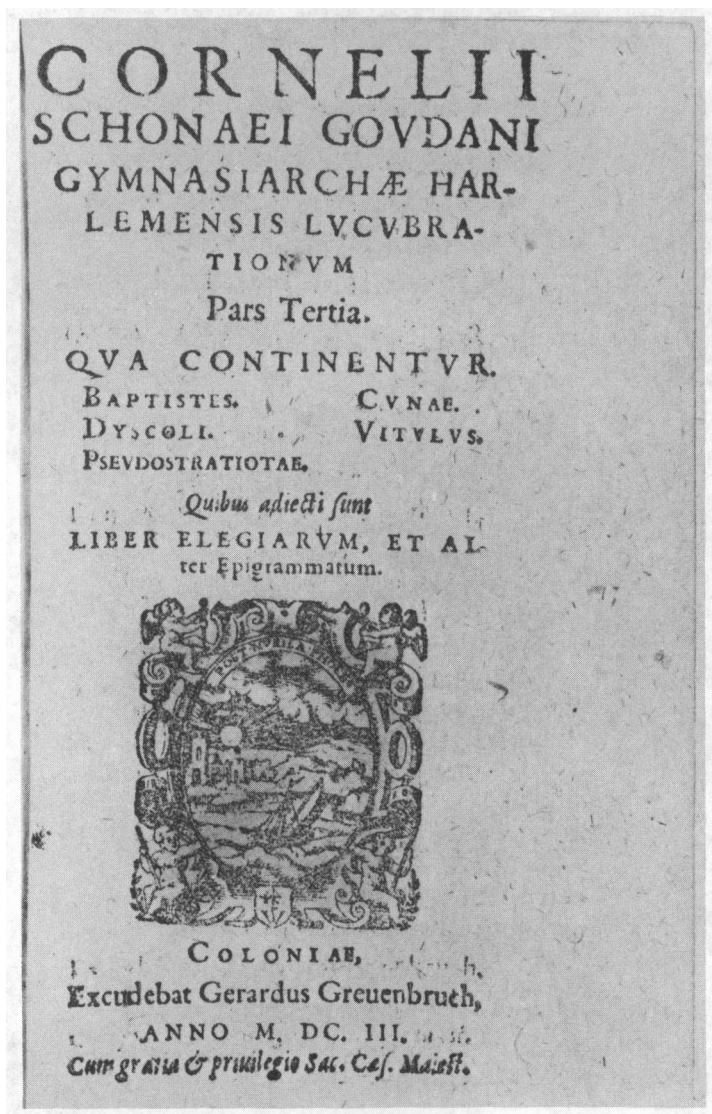
PLATE 36.

Oxford, Corpus Christi, 14 b 20

No. 29b.







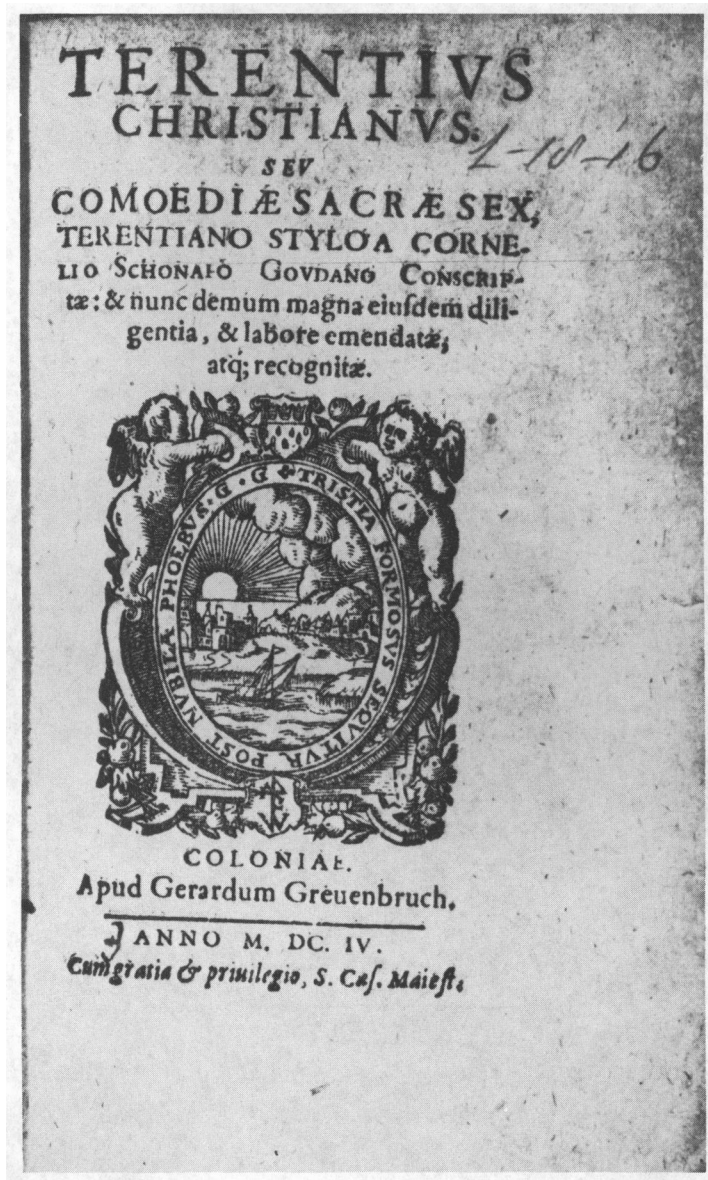
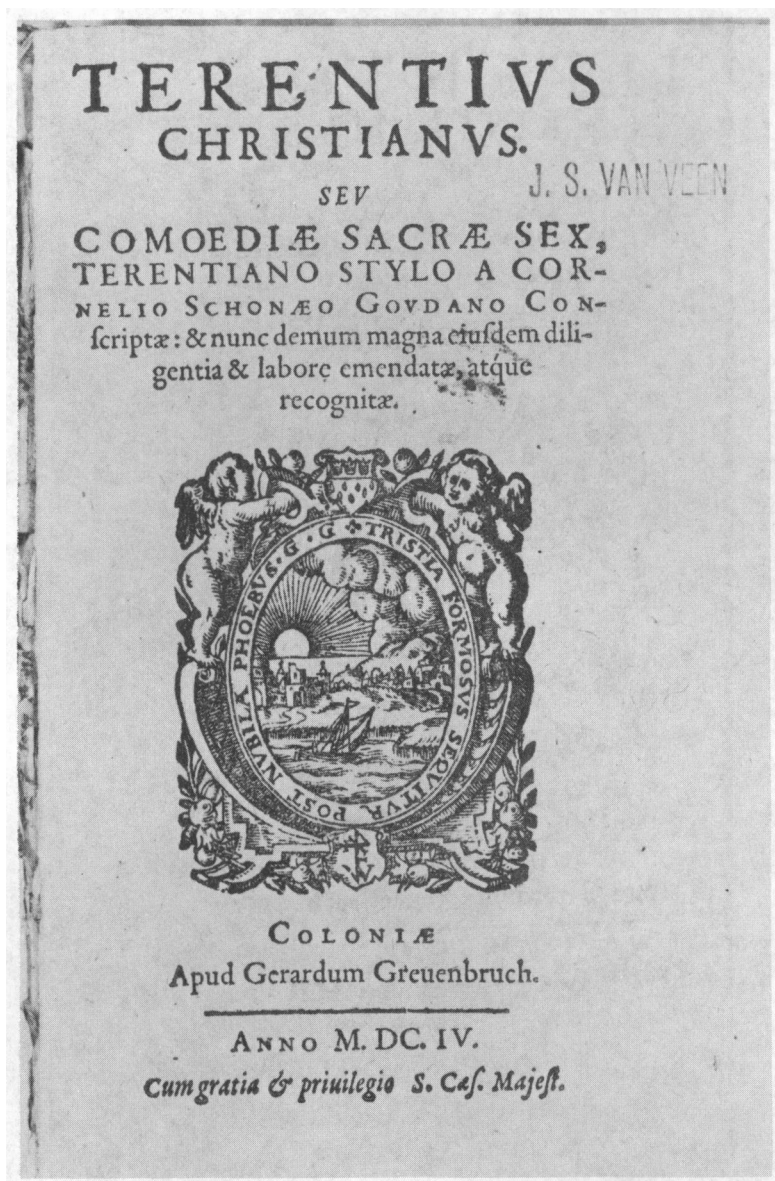


PLATE 40.

Cambridge, Queens', L. 18.16

No. 31a.





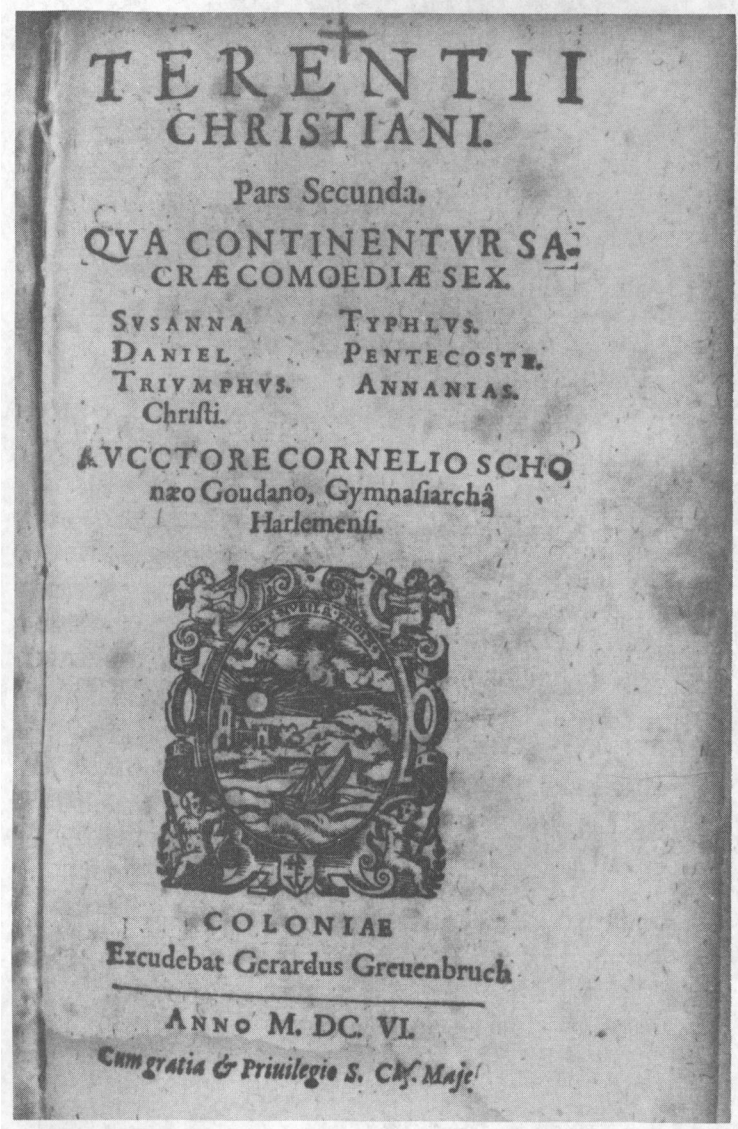
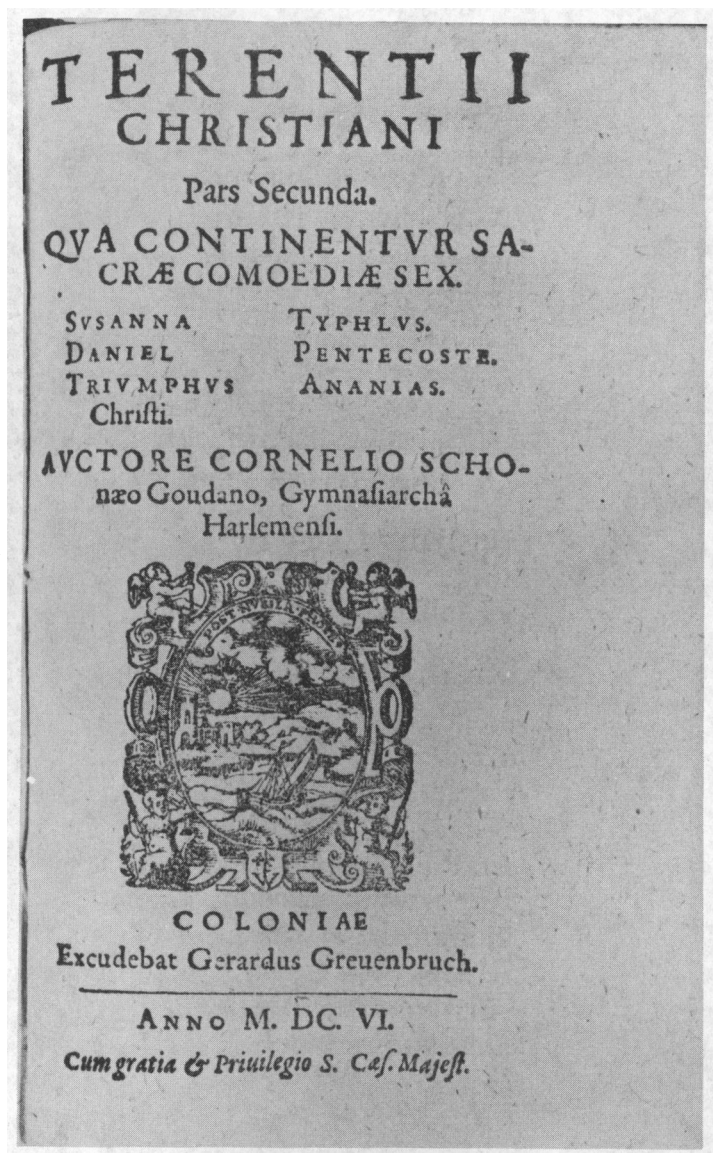


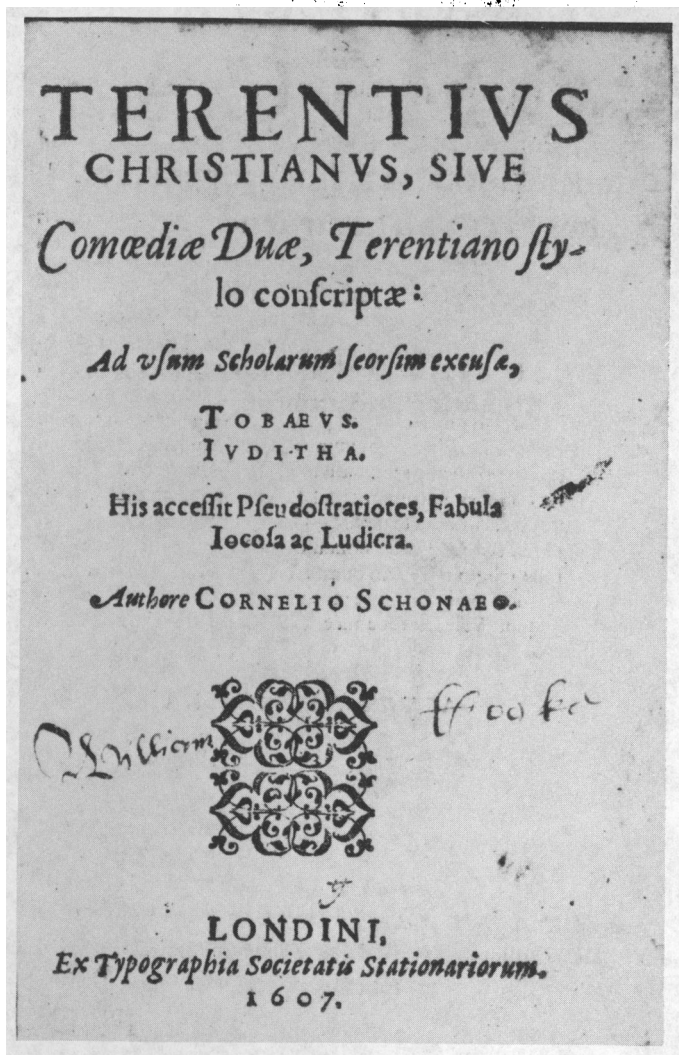
PLATE 42.

Frankfurt-am-Main, StUB, KL 741/500

No. 32a.







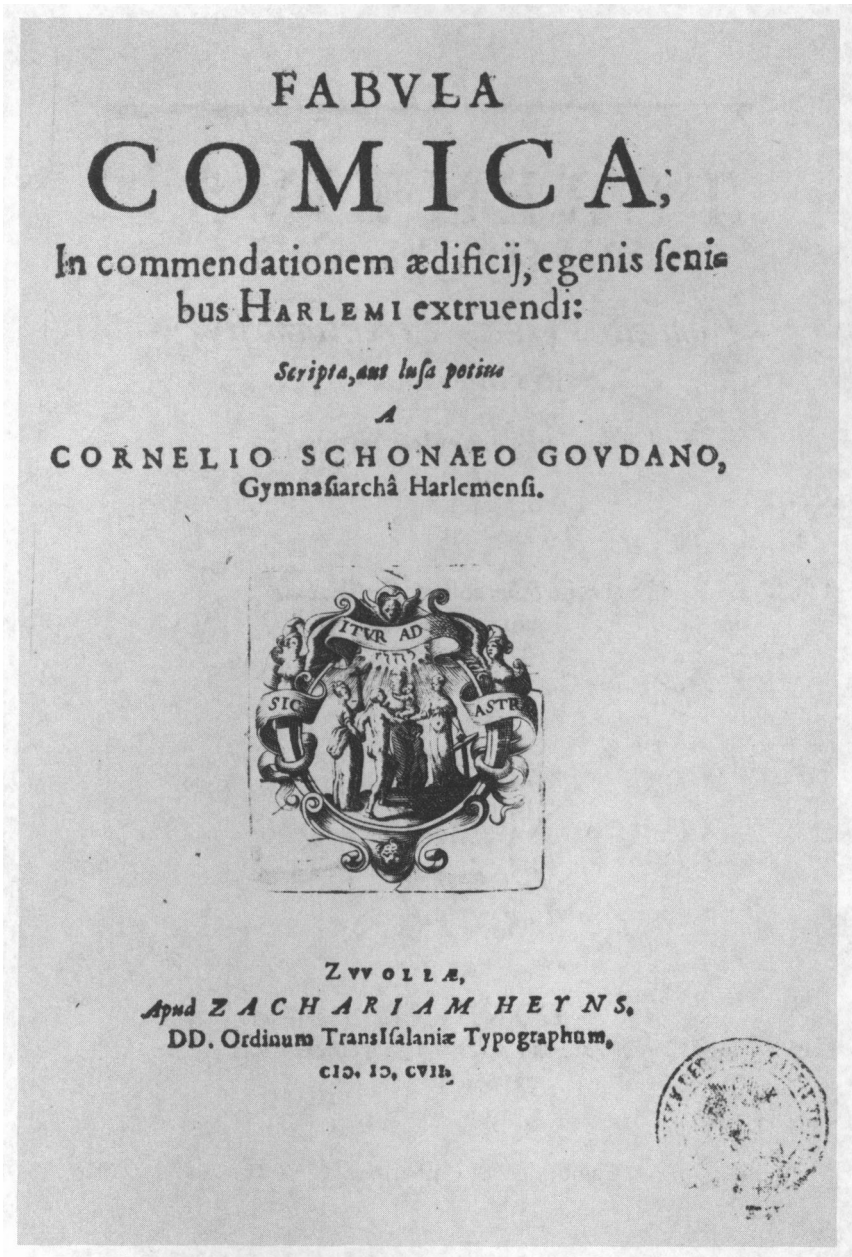


PLATE 45.

Utrecht, UB, Z. qu. 132  
(Greatly reduced)

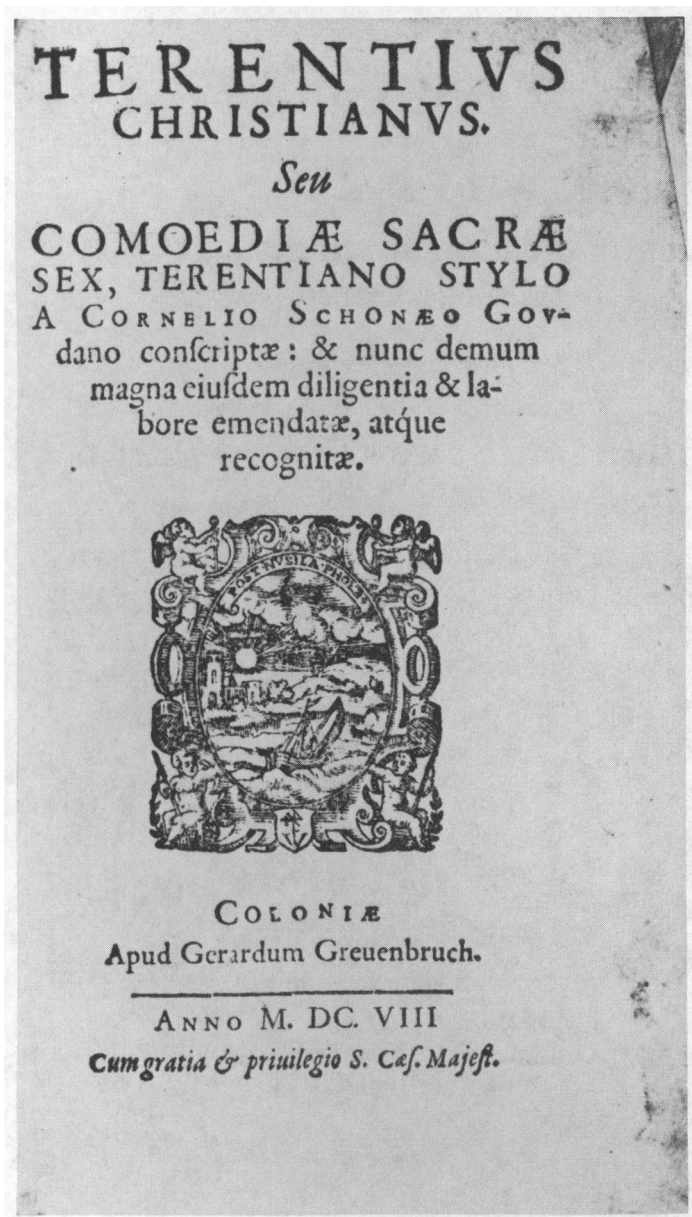
No. 34a.

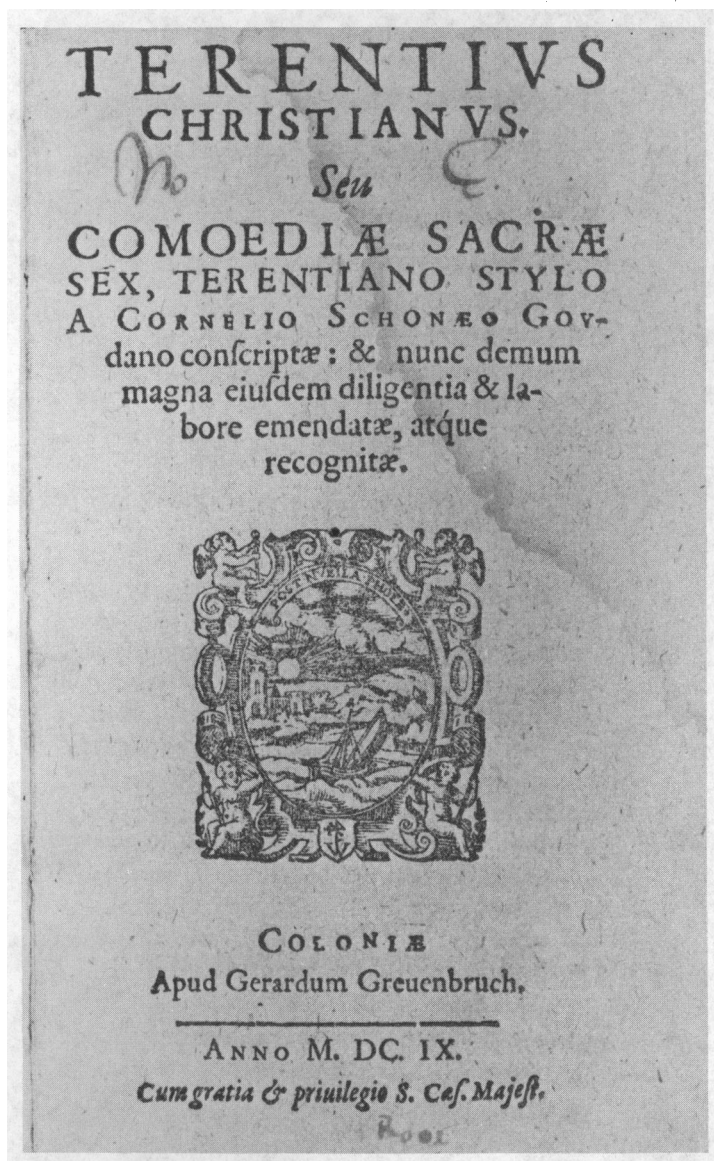


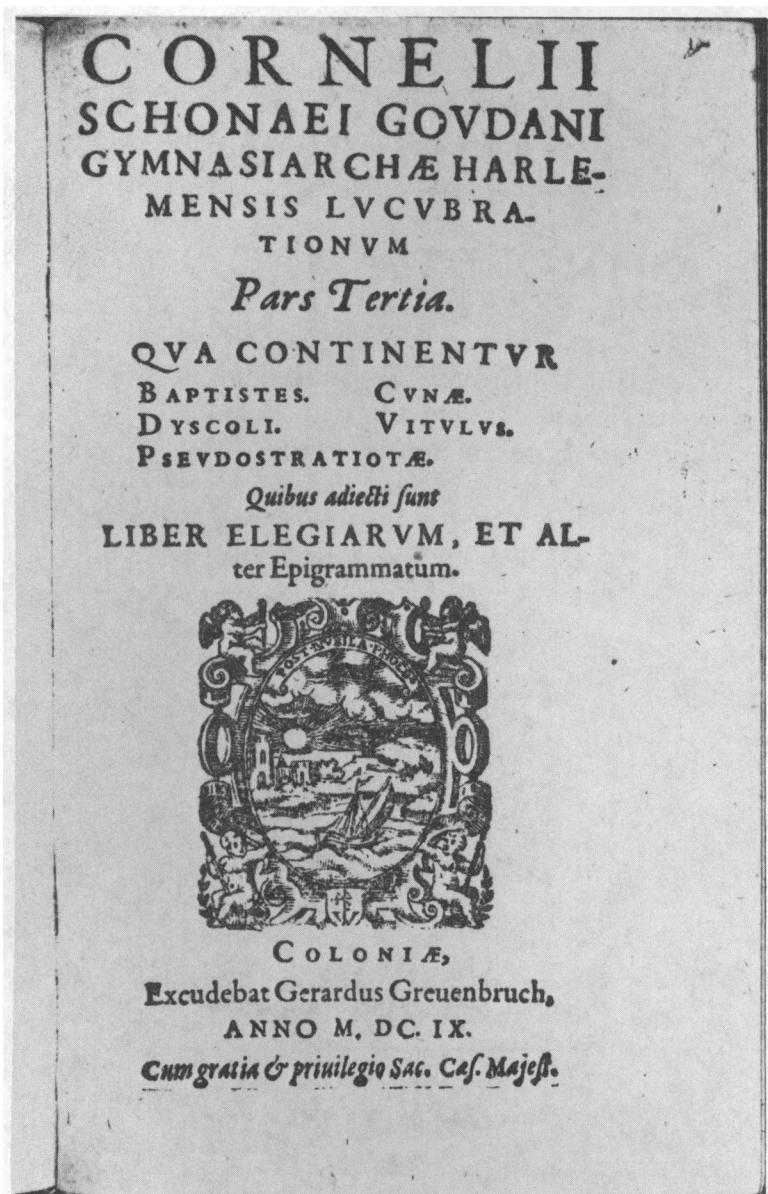
PLATE 46.

Venray, private collection  
(Greatly reduced)

No. 34b.









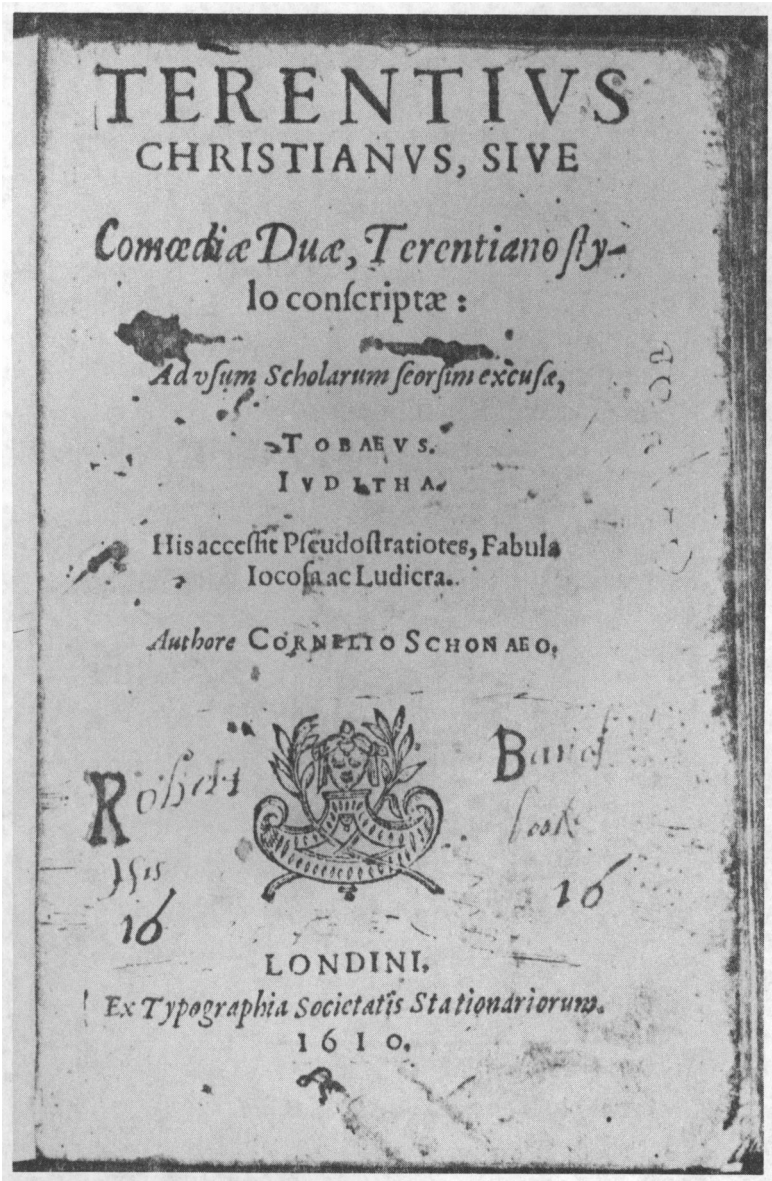
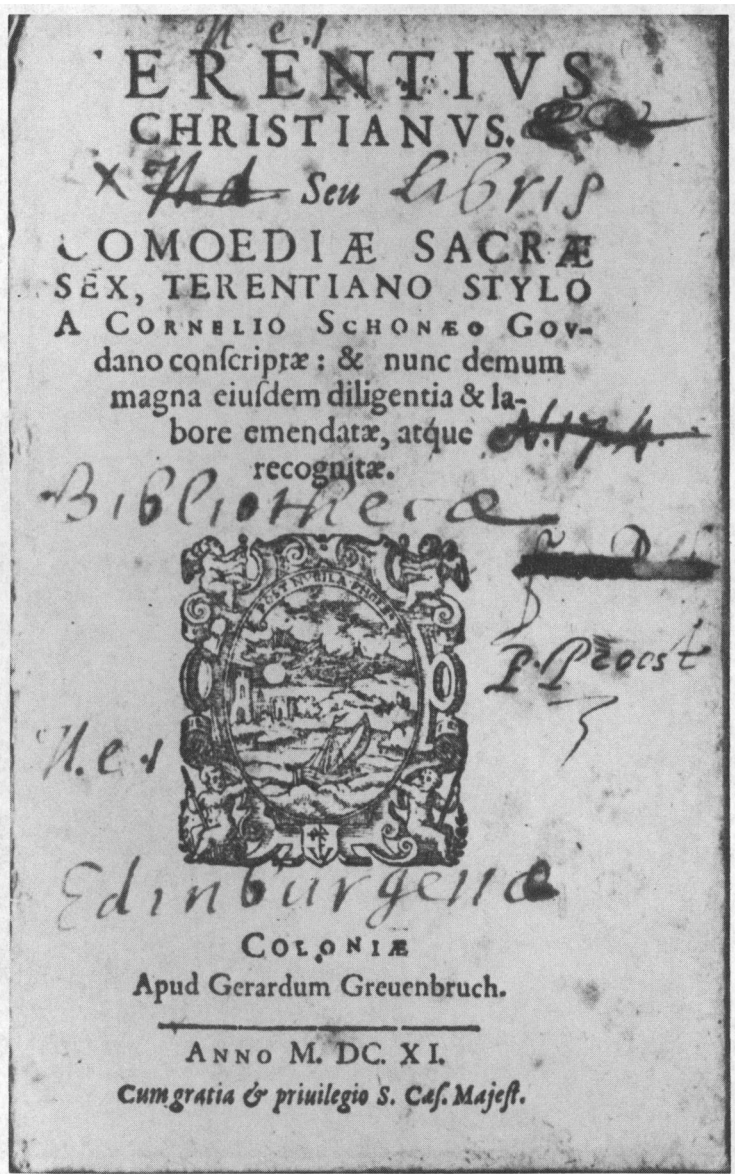


PLATE 50.

Cambridge (Mass.), HUL, \*67-517

No. 37.





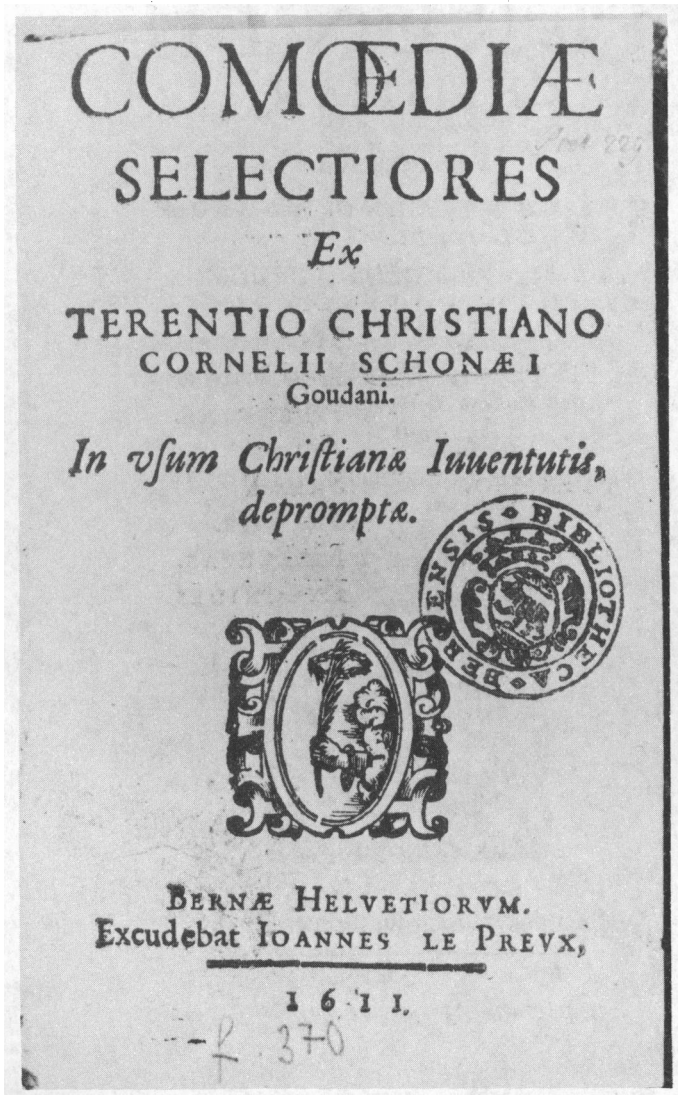
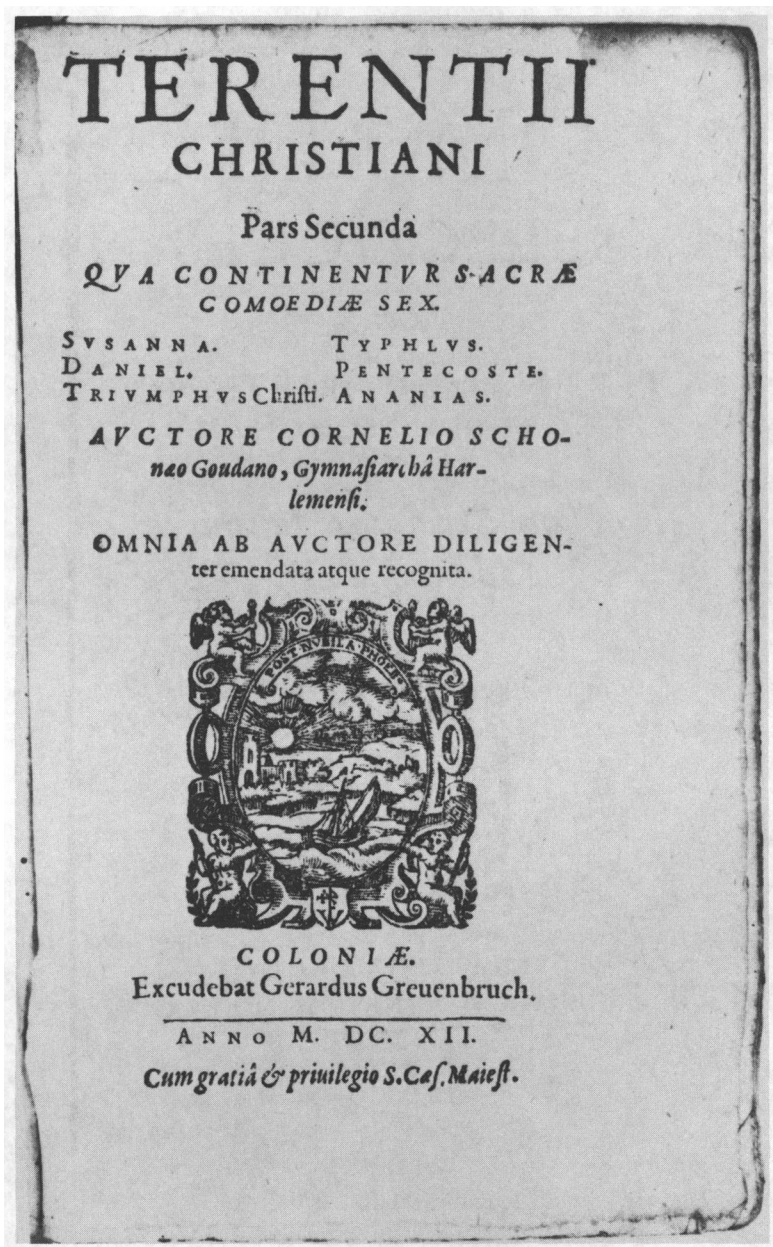
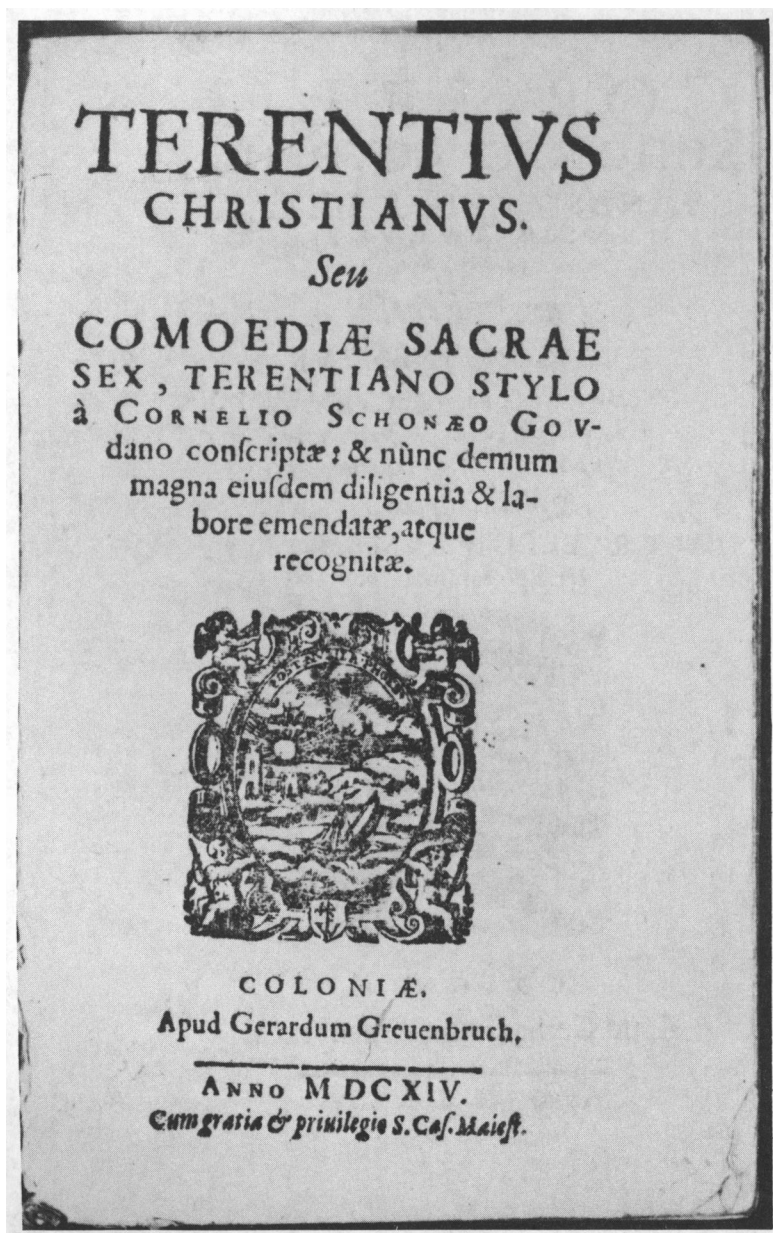


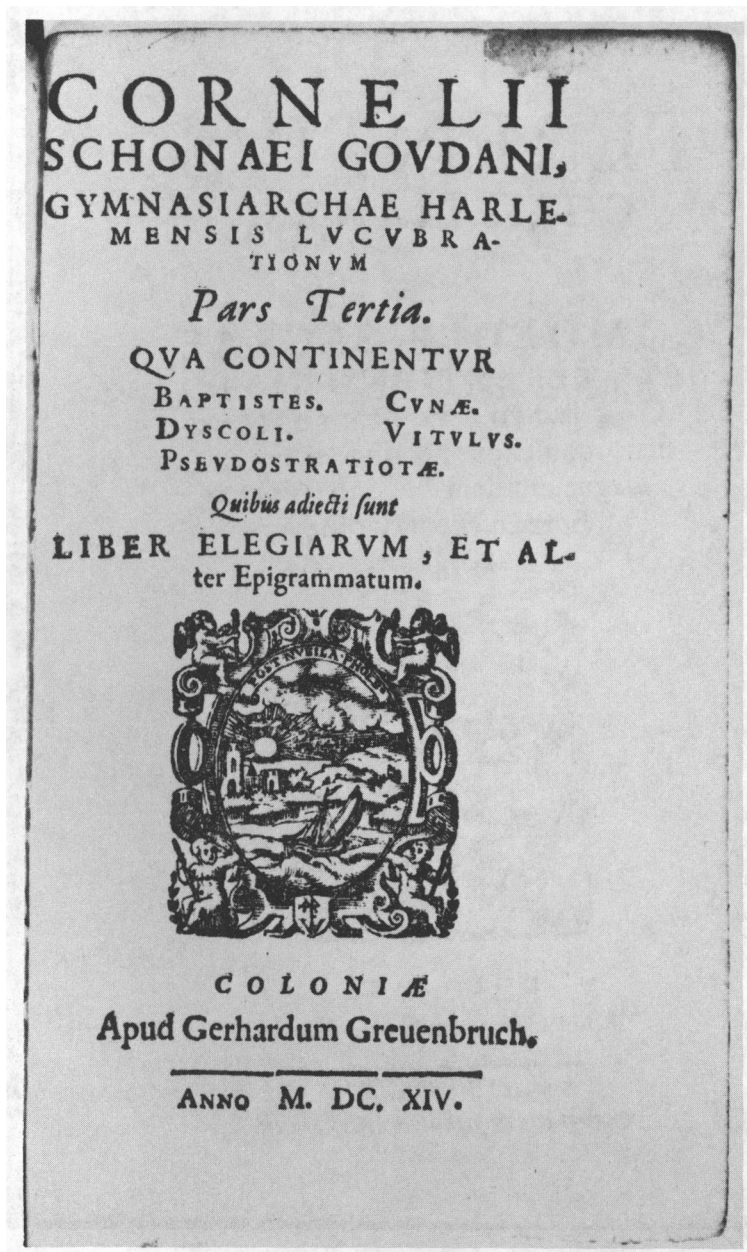
PLATE 52.

Berne, StUB, f. 370

No. 39.







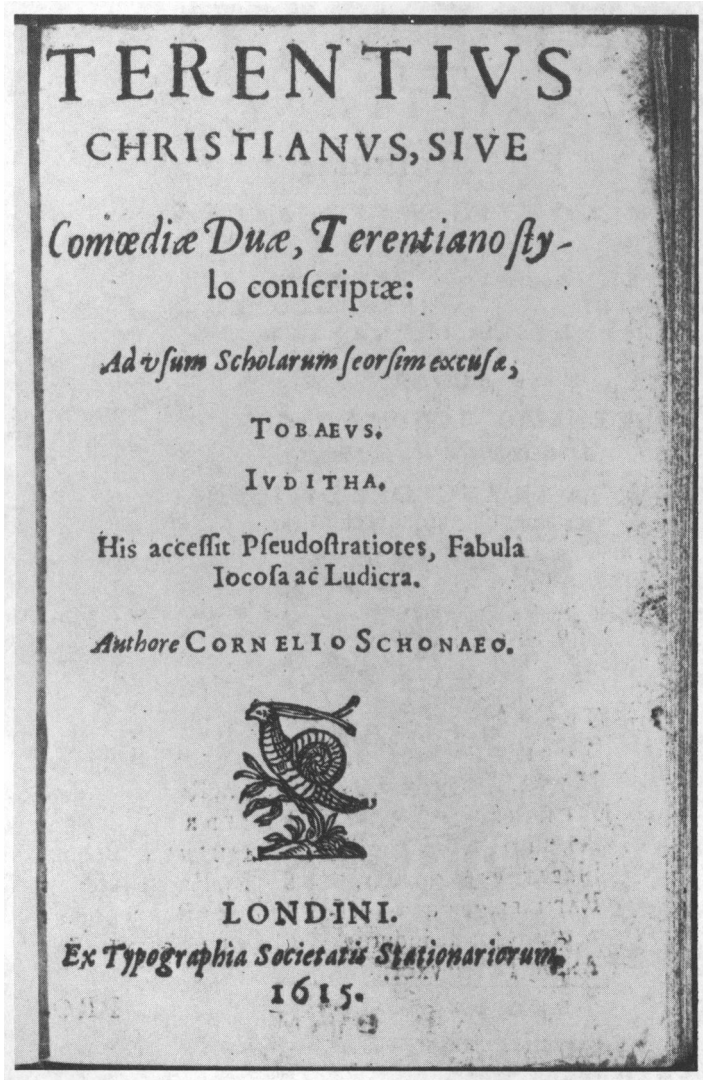
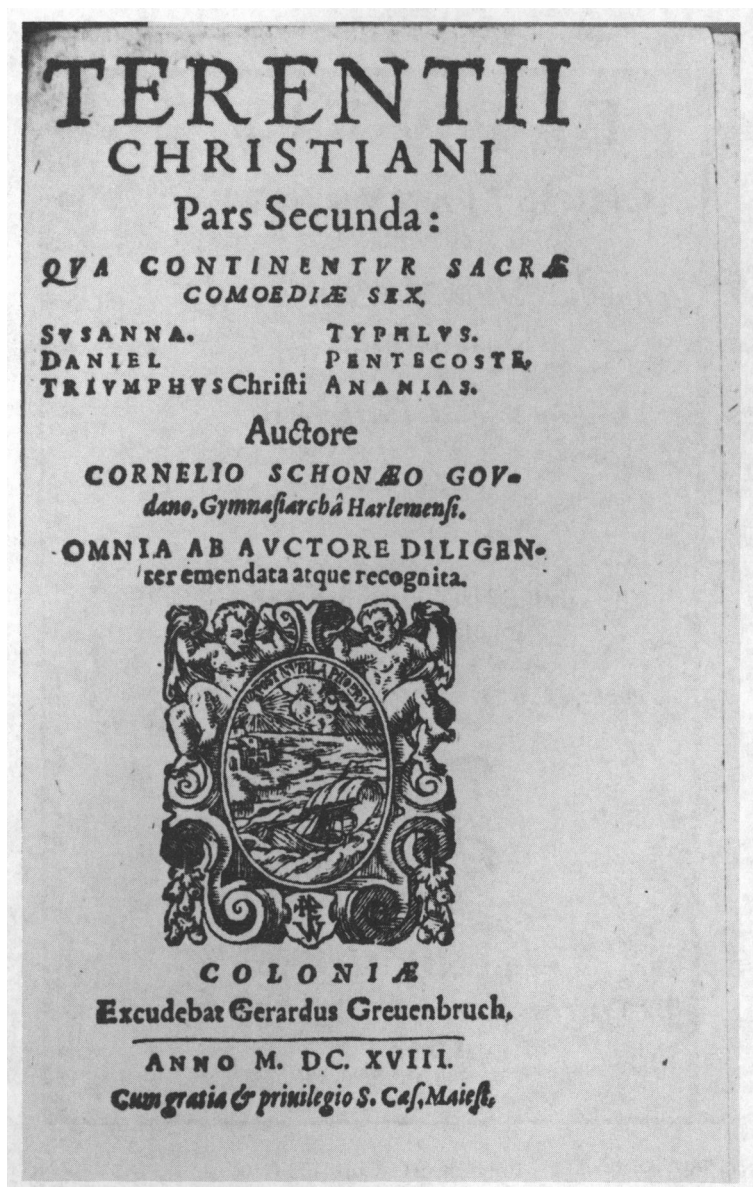


PLATE 56.

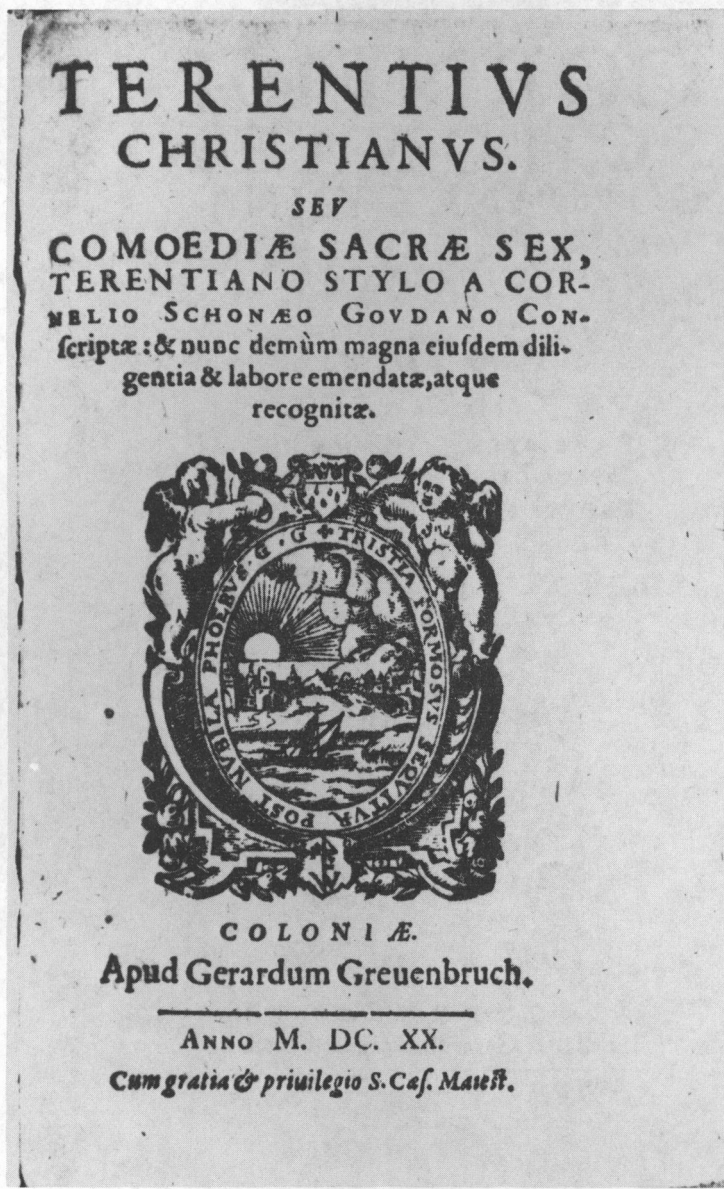
London, BL, Cup. 403.y.16

No. 43.











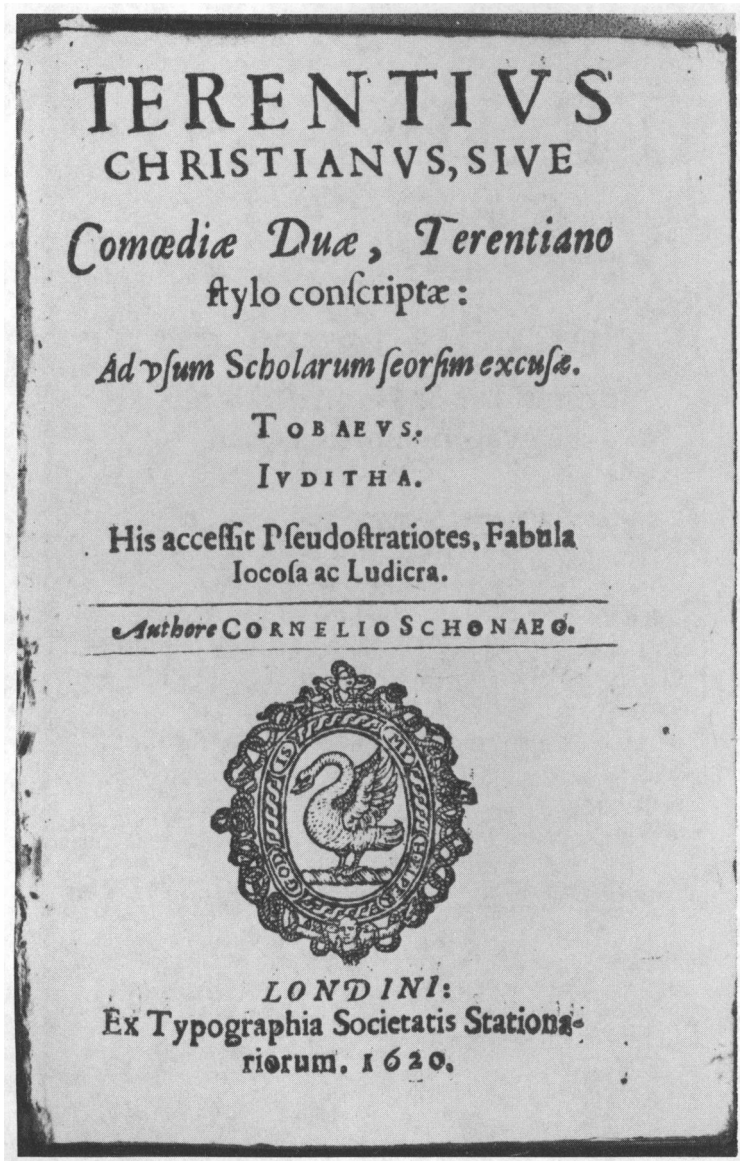


PLATE 60.

London, BL, 11712.aa.8

No. 47.



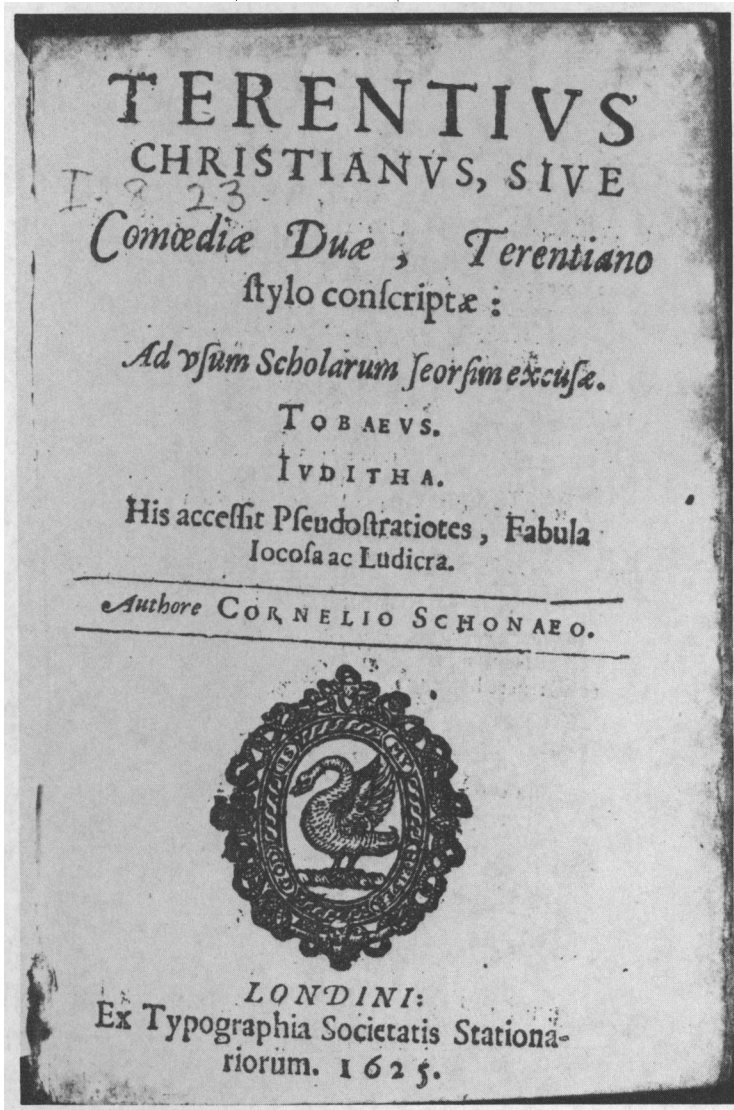
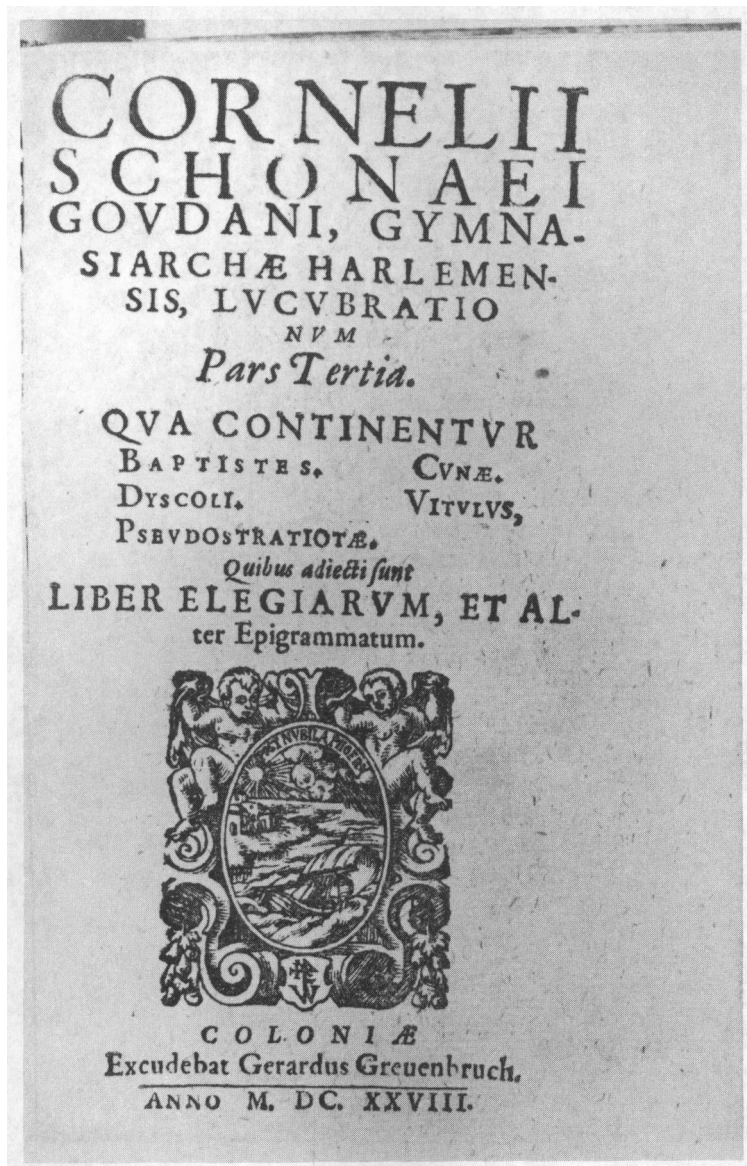


PLATE 62.

Cambridge, Queens', I.8.23

No. 51.



## INSTRUMENTUM CRITICUM

### CASTIGATIONES ERASMIANAE VI

Proponere iuvat Ordinis Noni tomos duos, qui optime ab utroque editore sunt curati. Optamus igitur ut ceterae Operum Erasmiianorum partes, quae proximis prodibunt annis, isdem etiam eluceant virtutibus ecdoticis.

Ac primum iam adeamus IX 1, cuius editionem paravit C. Augustijn. Insunt Opuscula septem apologetica.

1. *Epistola de interdicto esu carniū.*

p. 19 ad n. 1: formula 'Dominus Dominus' latine reddit quod italice 'Monsignore', francogallice 'Monseigneur' audit. Media et Recentiore Aetatibus tum auctoritates ecclesiasticas tum heroas nobiles communiter significat.

p. 25 ad n. 169-170: fortasse non abs re erit indicare quod Lovanii in ecclesia principali Sancti Petri exstat tabula de martyrio S. Erasmi a Theodorico Bouts depicta, quam Erasmus noster videre potuit.

p. 46 ad v. 847: 'ius carniū ovorum vitellis temperatum': confer Petri Rami Vitam, ed. P. Sharratt, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 24 (1975), 230.

Ad textum in genere quod attinet, editio B (1532) mihi multo quam A (1522) melior videtur ideoque lectoris suadeo ut semper ad B se conferant etiamsi in apparatus relegata sit.

2. *In epistolam de delectu ciborum scholia.* Omnia mihi nitere videntur.

3. *Spongia adversus Aspergines Hutteni.*

p. 117, 6: *lege* criminatio

p. 121, 98: vox 'insulula', quae olim legebatur in Cic., *Verr.* II iii, 85 (in insula inculta tenuique), nunc autem Ciceronis oratione ut spuria est eiecta, recentioribus placuisse videtur. Recurrit apud Lipsium, *Epist.* II 349, 6 (edd. Nauwelaerts-Suë).

p. 131, 217: *lege* satisfacissem

p. 148, 667: *lege* ullum, ne gentem ullam, evincet ...

p. 149, ad 680-681: De Italis ubi agitur (hoc loco occurrit H. Aleander, paulo post p. 153 Marinus Caracciolus), praestat referre ad vitam in *Dizionario Biografico Italiano*, prout fieri potest (nam lentissime hoc opus perficitur).

p. 166, ad 63: Thomae Rhadini Todisci Oratio in Philippum Melancthonem edita est a Fl. Ghizzoni: Tommaso Radini Tedeschi, *Orazione contro Filippo Melantone. Testo, traduzione e commento* (Brixiae, 1973).

p. 168, ad 68: De Remaclo Arduenna vide etiam J. IJsewijn et D.F.S. Thomson, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 24 (1975), 153-160.

p. 180, 363: Valde dubito num 'Hutteni', quod in veteribus libris ubique legitur, mutandum sit in 'Lutheri'. Mihi quidem Erasmus per ironiam locutus esse videtur.

p. 180, 400: *lege* praecipiat.

p. 197 ad 786-788: De Alexandro Hegio nunc primum videas Fr.J. Worstbrock, "Zur Biographie des Alexander Hegius", *Hum. Lov.* 29 (1980), 161-165, qui nova eaque certiora adfert.

4. *Detectio Praestigiarum.*

p. 255, ad 516: Praestat ad ipsum poetam, vel saltem etiam ad poetam lectores referre: Verg., *Buc.* 8, 108. Hunc enim Erasmus in animo habebat, non fontem aliquem derivatum.

5. *Epistola contra Pseudevangelicos.*

6. *Epistola ad Fratres Inferioris Germaniae.*

p. 358, 698: 'veteres migrate coloni' sumptum est e Vergilio, *Buc.* 9, 4.

p. 368, 881: *lege* discinctus.

7. *Purgatio adversus epistolam non sobriam Martini Lutheri.*

p. 455, 62: Iterum refer ad ipsum poetam: Hor., *A.P.* 11

p. 468, 706: *lege* histrionicam

Tomum alterum egregie curavit H.J. de Jonge, cuius etiam commentatio introductoria de vita et operibus Iacobi Stunicae maximi est momenti maximaeque novitatis. Integrum autem tomum complet *Apologia respondens ad ea quae Iacobus Lopis Stunica taxaverat in prima duntaxat Novi Testamenti aeditione.*

p. 142, 638-639: Etiam refer ad Luciani *Gallum* 6: ὑπὲρ τὰ ἑσκαμμένα πηδῶ.

p. 162, 979: editor falso 'temonem' mutavit in 'artemonem'. In media enim Latinitate 'temo navis' passim occurrit (cf. Lexica illius Latinitatis!). Accedit quod paulo ante (vv. 966-968) Erasmus monstraverat 'artemonem' pro 'antemna' poni; unde fit ut tautologia utatur qui scribat: '... remos, antemnam, artemonem, foros...', recte vero navis partes distinguat qui cum Erasmo legat: '... antemnam, temonem ...'

p. 193 ad 501: in usum lectorum addo quod eodem fere tempore, quo *Apologia* Stunicae prelo prodiit, editio etiam princeps divulgata est *Tractatus de Ecclesia* Magistri Iohannis [Stojković] de Ragusio O.P. in serie c.t. Croatica christiana: Fontes, I (Zagrabiae 1983). Editor est Fr. Šanjek.

J. IJ.

# NOTAE MELANCHTHONIANAE

Here follow some minor corrections to the third volume of Robert Stupperich's edition *Melanchthons Werke in Auswahl*: Humanistische Schriften, ed. Richard Nürnberger (Gütersloh 1969). The list makes no claim to completeness.

In the oration "De vita Aristotelis", p. 100 l. 11, for "Aristoteles" read "Aristotelis".

In *Liber de anima*, p. 314 l. 13, for "laetitia" (the reading in *Corpus Reformatorum*) read "laetitia" as in the Wittenberg 1553 edition, the copytext for CR and therefore the grandparent of this text. Unless noted, the following corrections restore readings common to CR and 1553.

- P. 320, l. 21, for “ergas obolem” read “erga sobolem”.  
 P. 325, l. 1, for “completitur” read “complectitur”.  
 P. 354, l. 16, for “adiut aassentitur” read “adiuta assentitur”.  
 P. 368, ll. 25 and 26: the commas after “Plato” and “corporum” are present in CR but absent in 1553, and the sentence is clearer without them.  
 P. 369, l. 35, for “multi” read “multo”.

It may be noted further that at p. 41 l. 12, עֲנֶה וְסִחֲרָה אֶמְתִּי transposes the Masoretic text which reads עֲנֶה וְסִחֲרָה אֶמְתִּי. Also at the note to 352 l. 35, for “Phyt” read “Pyth”.

Since Melanchthon, his printers, and his editors have all been native German speakers, it is not unusual to find one feature of that language in his Latin texts, namely the separation of clauses by commas. Since the Nürnberger text is not a critical edition, fidelity to punctuation is not required, and I should suggest that the sense and the Latinity of the text would be clearer if the following commas were deleted: after “ostendit” at p. 343, l. 9, “voluntatis” at 348, l. 5, “commonefacit” at 355, l. 9, “appetitiones” at 357, l. 2, “artium” at 359, l. 21, and “providentia” at 363, l. 7. Greater clarity might also be achieved if a comma were added after “corpore” at 371, l. 9 or the one after “naturae” in l.10 removed.

Yale

Ralph KEEN

## INSTRUMENTUM BIBLIOGRAPHICUM

### NEO-LATINUM

apparaverunt

J. IJsewijn, M. de Schepper, G. Tournoy, D. Sacré

#### *Appellatio ad auctores:*

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neo-latinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 LEUVEN, Belgium), quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

#### SIGLA:

*Barockliteratur* = Forster L. (ed.), *Studien zur europäischen Rezeption deutscher Barockliteratur*, Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung, 11 (Wiesbaden, Harassowitz, 1983).

- BHR** = *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* (Genève).  
**GSLI** = *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* (Torino).  
**HL** = *Humanistica Lovaniensia* (Leuven).  
**JMRS** = *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (Durham, N.C.)  
*Later Medieval Philosophy* = Kretzmann N. ed al. (ed), *The Cambridge History of Later Medieval Philosophy: From the Rediscovery of Aristotle to the Disintegration of Scholasticism 1100-1600* (Cambridge etc., Cambridge U. Press, 1982).  
*Neo-Latin...France* = *Neo-Latin and the Vernacular in Renaissance France*, edited by Gr. Castor and T. Cave (Oxford, Clarendon, 1984).  
*Renaissance Eloquence* = *Renaissance Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric*, edited by J.J. Murphy (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, U. of California Press, 1983).  
**RIN** = *Rinascimento* (Firenze).  
**RPL** = *Respublica Litterarum* (Lawrence, Kansas).  
**Roma** = *Umanesimo a Roma nel Quattrocento. Atti del Convegno su "Umanesimo a Roma nel Quattrocento", New York 1-4 dicembre 1981*. A cura di P. Brezzi e Maristella de Panizza Lorch (Roma, Istituto di Studi Romani-New York, Barnard College: Columbia University, 1984).  
**RQ** = *Renaissance Quarterly* (New York).  
**Vestigia** = *Vestigia. Studi in onore di Giuseppe Billanovich*. A cura di R. Avesani et al., *Storia e Letteratura*, 162-163, 2 vols (Roma, 1984).  
*Virgilio-Brindisi* = *Atti del Convegno Virgiliano di Brindisi nel bimillenario della morte: Brindisi 15-18 ottobre 1981* (Perugia, Istituto filologia latina dell'università; Napoli, Liguori editore, 1983).  
**WBN** = *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten* (Wiesbaden).  
**WRM** = *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen* (Wiesbaden).

## 1. GENERALIA

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## 7. INCEPTA

DORPIUS Martinus: J. IJsewijn editionem criticam IV Orationum Bibliothecae Teubnerianae Lipsiam misit, quae eas mox editura est.

GLAREANUS HENRICUS: Prof. Dr. Hermann Koller (Hauptstrasse 42, CH-8162 Steinmaur, Schweiz) parat editionem criticam epistolarum Henrici Glareani ideoque quaerit ineditas, si quae in bibliothecis lateant ignotae.

MACROPEDIUS GEORGIUS: H. P. M. Puttger (Onder de Linden 21, NL-6903 AR Zevenaar, Nederland) dissertationem parat in studiorum Universitate Noviomagensi (Nijmegen) de *Asoto Evangelico*.

## 8. LIBER REPERTUS

GNAPHEUS GULIELMUS, *Acolastus* (Antverpiae, 1555: Bolte, n° 35): cf. *HL* 29 (1980), p. 311E. Exemplar huius editionis exstat in bibliotheca Seminarii Maioris Pelplinensis, signatum IV.G.f.E.17 d/adl. Urbs Pelplin sita est in Polonia septentrionali haud longe a Gedano ad meridiem versus. Nuntiavit v.d. Miciclaus Mejor, philologus Varsaviensis.

## INSTRUMENTUM LEXICOGRAPHICUM

## NOVA LEXICA

*Novum Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis*: ORDIOR — OZ (Hafniae, 1983).

*Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi*, composuerunt J.W. Fuchst†, Olga Weijers, Marijke Gumbert (Leiden, Brill), vol. III, fasc. 19-21: DESTITUTIO-ECCLESIA (1983-84).

*Lexicon Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Polonorum*, vol. V 9-10 (=43-44): LATROCINALITER-LYRISTA, et Addenda ad Vol. V (Kraków, 1983-84).

*Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis Cataloniae*, fasc. 8: DEOVOTA-DOTALIS (Barcelona, 1979).

*Concordantia verbalia* (sic!) *Missalis Romani. Partes euchologicae*. Ediderunt Th. A. Schnitker et W.A. Slaby (Münster, 1983).

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Vide etiam supra in *Instrumento Bibliographico* s.v. Pesenti Tiziana (p. 326), Grotius H. (p. 339), Bacon Fr. (p. 342) et E. Swedenborg (p. 354).



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## INDEX VERBORUM RECENTIORUM

Sequuntur verba, quae neque in *Thesaurο Linguae Latinae* neque in *Lexico Totius Latinitatis* Forcelliniano reperiuntur. Ea autem, quae in lexicis et glossariis Mediae Latinitatis leguntur, stellula (\*) notavimus.

Hunc in indicem verba non reportavimus, quae iam p. 70 in glossario Cyriaceo proposita sunt.

- Alphabeticus (ordo), *alphabetical*: p. 76  
 Animalenlum: vox nihili, falso pro *animalculo* lecta: p. 323  
 Arithmeticalis, *arithmetical* (medieval Latin): p. 82  
 Astronomicalis, *astronomical* (medieval Latin): p. 83  
 Aurisonus: 'Vellus aurisonum' = *Golden fleece*: p. 114  
 \*Canonicus, *canon*: p. 217  
 Carpsor = carptor: p. 16  
 Dedicatorius, *dedicatory*: p. 141  
 Ducatus, -ti (pro: -tus), *duchy*: p. 100  
 Egoitas: philosophical term: p. 323  
 Encyclopaedia, *encyclopaedia*: p. 348  
 \*Florenus, *guilder*: p. 106  
 \*Homagium legeum, *liege homage*: p. 95, 98  
 Imprimere, *to print*: p. 218  
 Informatorium, *instruction*: p. 142  
 \*Ingrossare, *to engross*: p. 84  
 Insulula, *small island*: p. 315.  
 \*Legeus (adj.), *liege*: p. 95, 98  
 \*Licentiatius, *licentiate*: p. 217  
 \*Logicalis, *logical* (medieval Latin): p. 81  
 \*Metaphysicalis, *metaphysical* (med. Latin): p. 85  
 \*Metaphysicus, m., *metaphysician*: p. 85  
 \*Musicalis, *musical* (med. Latin): p. 83  
 Octastichon, *poem of eight verses*: p. 224  
 Octuagenus = octogenus: p. 108  
 \*Paenitentarius, *penitentiary*: p. 344  
 Paraphrastica, *by means of a paraphrase*: p. 149  
 Perspectivalis, *concerning perspective* (med. Latin): p. 82  
 \*Plebanus, *parish priest*: p. 8, 12, 14  
 \*Plebatus, -us, *parish*: p. 7  
 \*Praeservativus, *prophylactic*: p. 347  
 Prooemialis, *prefatory*: p. 322  
 \*Protectrix, *protectress*: p. 93  
 Quidificus: a grammatical term: p. 80  
 \*Rectoratus, -us: *rectorship*: p. 153  
 Rhetoricalis, *rhetorical* (med. Latin): p. 81  
 rimatrix, *female investigator*: p. 348  
 \*simeus = simus (adj.): p. 104  
 Subviarium vehiculum, *underground, metro*: p. 210  
 Supererrare = super errare: p. 197  
 Syntagma, *collection*: p. 139, 140  
 \*Temo navis, *tiller*: p. 316  
 Typographia, *printing office*: p. 218  
 Typographus, *printer*: p. 238  
 \*Vicecomes, *viscount*: p. 120

## INDICES

### I. INDEX CODICUM MANU SCRIPTORUM

- Bergen op Zoom, *Gemeentearchief*, Inv.  
II A n° 85: p. 109
- Brussel, *Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, hs. 21050:  
p. 109; 111; 113; 114
- Cambrai, *Bibliothèque Municipale*, ms.  
1049: p. 110; 114
- Cambrai, *Musée Communal*, Collection  
E. Delloye, liasse 16: p. 111; 114
- Cambridge, *Gonville and Caius College*,  
ms. 96: p. 88; 92
- Dublin, *Trinity College Library*, ms. 429:  
pp. 86-102
- Firenze, *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*,  
35.23: p. 10; p. 11
- Firenze, *id.*, 37.18: p. 10
- Firenze, *id.*, 42.14-16: p. 11
- Firenze, *id.*, 51.9: p. 10
- Firenze, *id.*, 53.8: p. 10
- Firenze, *id.*, 89 sup. 27: p. 8
- Firenze, *id.*, 90 sup. 34: p. 14
- Firenze, *id.*, S. Marco 328: p. 12
- Firenze, *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale*, II  
II 12: p. 7
- Firenze, *id.*, Panciatichi 148: p. 21
- Firenze, *Biblioteca Riccardiana*, 673: p. 10
- Firenze, *id.*, 906: p. 9
- Holkham Hall, 430: p. 9
- Leiden, *Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit*,  
BPL 40: p. 320
- Leiden, *id.*, Hs. Cun. 7: p. 145; 152sqq.
- Leiden, *id.*, Hs. Cun. 8: p. 153
- London, *British Library*, Add. 29506: p. 98
- London, *id.*, Add. 33736: p. 91; 93
- London, *id.*, Arundel 70: p. 5
- London, *id.*, Cotton Ms. Julius F vii:  
p. 74; 80
- London, *id.*, Egerton 616: p. 91
- London, *id.*, Harleianus 6163: p. 97
- London, *id.*, Royal 12 A XXIX: p. 87; 88;  
91; 96
- London, *Society of Antiquaries*, ms. 39:  
pp. 77-78
- Melk, *Stiftsbibliothek*, 780: p. 5
- Milano, *Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, A 49 inf.:  
p. 104
- München, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, clm  
504: p. 5
- Oxford, *Bodleian Library*, Ashmole ms.  
1437: p. 76
- Oxford, *id.*, Laud Misc. 501: p. 88; 92;  
101
- Oxford, *id.*, Canon. misc. 452: p. 73
- Oxford, *Corpus Christi College*, ms. 255:  
p. 74; 80
- Oxford, *King's College*, Muniments,  
Lodger Book I: p. 74
- Oxford, *id.*, ib., Mundum Books III: p. 72
- Oxford, *New College*, ms. 162: p. 73
- Philadelphia, *Free Library*, 139: p. 90
- Prato, *Archivio storico del Comune*, mss. 30  
and 80: p. 7
- San Gimignano, *Biblioteca Comunale*, ms.  
19: p. 7; 10
- San Gimignano, *id.*, ms. 23: p. 10
- San Gimignano, *id.*, ms. 27: p. 1; 10 (bis)
- San Gimignano, *id.*, ms. 30: p. 7; 10
- Urbania, *Biblioteca Comunale*, ms. 30: p. 9
- Vaticano, Chisianus J VII 266: p. 5
- Vaticano, Vat. Latinus 2946: p. 5; 6
- Vaticano, Vat. Latinus 11458: p. 10
- Vaticano, Vat. latinus 14415: p. 15

## 2. INDEX NOMINUM SELECTORUM

- Acquaviva, Andreas Matthaeus: 319  
 Adamus de Montaldo: 354  
 Aegidius Romanus: 77, 79, 122, 124  
 Aggerius Simon: 214  
 Alardus Amstelredamus: 103, 105  
 Alberti, Leo Baptista: 324, 346, 352  
 Aleander, Hieronymus: 315  
 Alexander I, rex Georgiae: 47  
 Alexander de Villa Dei: 7, 10, 15  
 Allde, Edward: 245, 259  
 Almanasor: 76  
 Alphonsus Sapiens: 146  
 Amaseus, Romulus: 341  
 Ammanati, Jacobus: 18  
 Ammonius, Andreas: 97, 99, 100  
 Andreas, Antonius: 79  
 Andreas, Bernardus: 350  
 Andrelinus, Faustus: 105  
 Andrieu, Ludovicus: 336  
 Andronicus II Palaeologus: 43  
 Aneau, Barthélémy: 116, 118, 119, 121, 122, 123, 125-132, 134  
 Antonio da S. Gimignano: 9, 10  
 Antonius de Bergen: 107  
 Anwykyll, John: 90, 351  
 Anysius, Janus: 327  
 Apollonius Rhodius: 347  
 Apuleius: 11, 16  
 Archilochus: 18  
 Arduenna, Remaclus: 315  
 Arduinus, Franciscus: 66  
 Argentein, Johannes: 71-80  
 Aristophanes: 348  
 Aristoteles: 1, 13, 16, 32, 35, 72, 77, 78, 350  
 Arnoldus de Nova Villa: 73  
 Arthur, Angliae princeps, Henrici VII filius: 73, 88, 93  
 Arundinensis, Joannes: 321  
 Arzachel: 77  
 Asanes, Manuel: 36, 37  
 Assendelphius, Gulielmus: 218  
 Avancinus, Nicolaus: 321  
 Averroes: 76  
 Avicenna: 76  
 Barbarus, Franciscus: 3, 4, 5  
 Barbatus Sulmonensis: 320  
 Bargaesus, Petrus Angelicus: 148  
 Barlaeus, Melchior: 350  
 Barlandus, Hadrianus: 149, 151  
 Bar(p)tolomeus, Johannes: 7  
 Bartholomaeus Sulmonensis: 320  
 Bartolommeo di Pietro Nerucci: 8, 11  
 Barzizza, Gasparinus: 5, 6, 32, 325, 326  
 Basilus: 16  
 Batt, Jacobus: 106  
 Baudius, Dominicus: 336  
 Beale, John: 253  
 Bebelius Henricus: 105  
 Beccadellius, Antonius: 9, 17, 18, 20, 325, 334  
 Bellaius, Joachim: 147  
 Bembus, Bernardus: 321, 347  
 Bembus, Petrus: 341  
 Benedictis, Alexander de —: 326  
 Benvenuit, Lorenzo: 2, 3  
 Bernardinus Senensis: 5  
 Beroaldus, Philippus sr.: 325  
 Bertholdus Ratisponensis: 115  
 Besly, Joannes Pictavus: 336  
 Bessarion: 319  
 Blasius, Johannes: 320  
 Blondus, Flavius: 324  
 Boccaccio, Giovanni: 146, 323, 324, 342  
 Boethius: 78  
 Bohn, John: 266  
 Bonnefonius, Joannes: 336  
 Borbonius, Nicolaus jr.: 336  
 Bouts, Dirk: 315  
 Bowler, James: 253  
 Braccius, Alexander: 325  
 Brackenbury, Robert: 92  
 Bradock, Richard: 253  
 Brassica, Jacobus: 227  
 Brenzon, Bartolommeo: 6  
 Breton, Gabriel (Guillaume?) le —: 148  
 Bronchorst, G.: 153  
 Bruni, Donato: 14  
 Brunus, Leonardus Aretinus: 1-21, 324, 325, 340, 343

- Buchanan, Georgius: 350  
 Budaëus, Gulielmus: 117, 118, 122, 124, 129  
 Bugenhagen: v. Pomeranus  
 Burley, Walter: 78  
 Burmannus, Petrus: 154  
 Burnet, Gilbert: 121  
 Buyck, Jacob: 215  
  
 Calvus Franciscus: 42, 323  
 Cantalycius, Joannes Bapt.: 320  
 Caracciolus, M.: 315  
 Carafa, Oliviero: 331  
 Carmelianus, Petrus: 86-102  
 Castelliunculus, Lupus jr.: 340  
 Castiglione, R.: 29  
 Castro, Guillèn de —: 147  
*Catholicon*: 15  
 Catullus: 11, 331  
 Caxton, William: 89  
 Celadenus, Alexius: 343  
 Celsus: 11  
 Celtis, Conradus: 322  
 Certon, Salomon: 336  
 Cesarini, G.: 38  
 Chappuy, Gabriel: 116, 118-124, 129-134  
 Chimarrhaeus, Jacobus: 236, 243, 244, 256  
 Chisius, Fabius: 331  
 Christianus, Claudius: 336  
 Chytraeus, David: 332  
 Cicero: 5, 15, 31-35, 66, 77, 137, 315, 343, 352; (pseudo-): 77  
 Ciofanus, Hercules: 320  
 Cirne, Juan: 147  
 Cochlaeus, Johannes: 322  
 Colet, John: 350  
 Columella: 136  
 Comitibus, Sigismundus de —: 340  
 Corippus, Cresconius: 327  
 Cornelius: 76  
 Cornelius de Mera: 73  
 Corradus, Quintus Marius: 319  
 Corrarius, Gregorius: 327, 337  
 Corvinus, Johannes Arnoldus: 320  
 Cotta, Joannes: 325  
 Couplet, Philippus: 322  
 Critobulus, Michael: 27, 28, 31  
 Crittonius, Georgius Scottus: 336  
 Cunaëus, Joannes: 153, 154  
 Cunaëus, Petrus: 151-197, 345  
 Cyriacus Anconitanus: 22-70  
  
 Dalanthus, Aulus Gerardus-Heusdanus: 150  
 Daniel, (abbas): 46, 47  
 Dante: 11, 323  
 Datus, Leonardus: 9, 327  
 Dawson, Thomas: 245  
 Decembrius, Angelus: 324, 325  
 Decembrius, Petrus Candidus: 325  
 Dedecus, John: 72  
 Dentutus, Christophorus: 42  
 Dexter, Robert: 206, 230  
 Dietrich, Katharina: 230  
 Diodorus Siculus: 331  
 Diotiguardi, Iacopo: 15  
 Disypatus, Alexius: 24, 27  
 Dlugossius, Janus: 322  
 Doket, John: 73, 79  
 Dolce, Lodovico: 147  
 Donatus: 10  
 Duccius de Monte Vettolino: 10  
  
 Edward IV: 88  
 Edward V: 73, 87, 88  
 Elisabeth of York: 88, 91  
 Elysius, Joannes: 336  
 Ennodius: 146  
 Eobanus Hessus: 105, 322  
 Erasmus: 74, 97, 99, 103-105, 106-115, 122, 124, 137, 138, 315-316, 328, 341, 342, 346  
 Ercole d'Este: 89  
 Euclides: 78  
 Eucherius: 347  
 Euricius Cordus: 105  
 Euripides: 145, 156  
 Euthymius: 51  
 Evans, William: 259  
  
 Faernus, Gabriel: 329  
 Fallopius, Gabriel: 329  
 Ferrariis, Antonius Galateus de: 319  
 Field, Richard: 230, 231  
 Filelfus, F.: vide Philelphus

- Fileticus, Martinus: 323  
 Fischer, Georg: 148  
 Fischer, John: 71  
 Fleming, Paulus: 142  
 Fontius, Bartholomaeus: 10, 324  
 Franc, Thomas: 5  
 Francesco da Buti: 7, 9, 10, 11  
 Franck, Valentinus jr.: 321  
 Frischlinus, Nicodemus: 149, 155, 156  
  
 Gager, Gulielmus: 148  
 Gaguinus, Robertus: 90  
 Galenus: 76  
 Gaspar Veronensis: 340  
 Gatalusius: vide Gattilusio  
 Gattilusio, Dorino II: 40, 52  
 Gattilusio, Francesco II: 29, 40  
 Gattilusio, Francesco III: 36, 51, 52, 56, 61, 68, 69  
 Gattilusio, Giorgio: 40  
 Gattilusio, Palamede: 40, 64  
 Gellius, Aulus: 11, 15  
 Gennadios II: vide Scholarios Georgios  
 Gherardus, Jacobus: 340  
 Ghistele, Cornelis van —: 148  
 Gilbertus: 76  
 Giraldu Cynthius, Johannes Baptista: 147  
 Giustiniani, Lorenzo: 5  
 Grange, Guillaume de la —: 148  
 Grevenbroich, Gerhard: 207, 209, 212, 219, 233, 234, 237, 239, 240, 242, 243, 249, 250, 251, 253, 255, 256, 258, 260, 261, 263, 267  
 Grévin, Jacobus: 329  
 Griffolini, Francesco: 86, 94, 95, 96  
 Grimaldus, Carolus: 41  
 Gronenberg, Simon: 221, 222, 224, 228, 229  
 Grossatesta, Robertus: 77  
 Grudius, Nicolaus: 349  
 Guarinus Veronensis: 2-5, 20, 73, 324, 340  
 Guendeville, Nicolas: 117, 120-131, 133, 134  
 Gutherius, Jacobus: 336  
  
 Haliez, Michael: 321  
 Hall, William: 252, 253  
  
 Hardy, Alexandre: 147  
 Haviland, Thomas: 252  
 Hegius, Alexander: 316  
 Heider, Wolfgang: 141  
 Heinsius, Nicolaus sr.: 140, 144, 147, 152  
 Henricus de Bergen: 106-115  
 Henricus VI, Rex Angliae: 71  
 Henricus VII, Rex Angliae: 73, 88, 90, 91, 98  
 Henricus VIII, Rex Angliae: 89, 98, 99, 100  
 Herbersteinus, Sigismundus: 322  
 Hercules Estensis: 89  
 Herdtrich, Christian: 322  
 Hermansz, Guilielmus Goudanus: 106  
 Heyns, Zacharias: 225, 227, 246, 247, 248  
 Hippocrates: 76  
 Hoffman, Andreas: 221, 222, 224, 228, 229  
 Homerus: 55, 56  
 Horatius: 10, 22, 57, 138, 157, 199, 200, 202, 323, 334  
 Horst, Philipp: 141  
 Hospeinius, Michael: 149  
 Houte, Pieter van de: vide Ligneus  
 Hugutio: 15, 16  
 Hunte, Thomas: 90, 98  
  
 Isidorus: 15  
 Isocrates: 341  
  
 Jacobus IV, rex Scotiae: 97  
 Jacobus Anthonisz: 106, 107  
 Jacobus Philippus Bergomas: 90  
 Jacquierius, Joannes: 336  
 James IV (of Scotland): 97  
 Janus Pannonius: vide Pannonius  
 Jodelle, Etienne: 147, 148  
 Joannes Duns Scotus: 172  
 Johannes Canonicus: 79  
 Johannes [Stojković] de Ragusio: 316  
 Johannes (Georgicus): 51  
 Johannes Lascaris Rhyndacenus: 40  
 Johannes VIII Palaeologus: 39  
 Jovius, Paulus: 341  
 Juretus, Franciscus: 336  
 Justinus: 146  
 Juvenalis: 15, 323

- Knaustius, Henricus: 149, 156  
 Landinus, Christophorus: 105, 325, 327  
 Laonicus Chalcocondyles: 39  
 Lauredanus, L.: 27, 28  
 Le Blond, Jehan: 116, 118, 119, 121, 122, 123, 125-132, 134  
 Lee, Edward: 97  
 Lee, Richard: 97  
 Le Neve, Peter: 97  
 Leo X: 100  
 Le Preux, Jean: 254, 255  
 Ligneus, Petrus Gravelinganus: 149  
 Lipsius, Justus: 138-143, 315  
 Liudprands Cremonensis: 45, 47  
 Livius, Titus: 11, 324, 340, 348, 351  
 Lolli, Gregorio: 18  
 Loosaeus, Cornelius: 218, 236, 241  
 Lucianus: 316, 346, 352  
 Lucretius: 136  
 Lupi, Lupo: 7  
 Lupi, Mattia: 6-21  
 Lupset, Thomas: 122, 124, 129  
 Luschius, Antonius: 327  
 Luther, Martinus: 315  
 Lycosthenes, Conrad: 139  
  
 Macrobius: 11, 12  
 Maenardus, Carolus: 336  
 Maffeus Volaterranus: 340  
 Magni, Valerianus: 324  
 Mainardi, Bartolo: 8  
 Makarios: 44  
 Malachias: 47  
 Malatesta, Novello di Cesena: 94, 95  
 Malatesta, Sigismundus: 329  
 Manettus, Jannotius: 340  
 Marci, Marcus: 324  
 Marianis, Probus de: 320  
 Marius, Hadrianus: 349  
 Marlowe, Christopher: 147, 148  
 Marot, Clément: 123  
 Marrasius, Angelus: 323, 325  
 Marsuppinus, Carolus: 12, 20  
 Martialis: 10, 17  
 Martinez, Mathias: 354  
 Marullus, Michael: 198, 325  
 Matthaecolis, Matthaheus de —: 326  
 Mayfart: vide Meyfart  
 Mehmed II: 40, 67  
 Melanchthon, Philippus: 315, 316, 317  
 Meursius, Johannes: 151  
 Meyfart, Johannes Matthaheus: 141, 142, 144  
 Modrevius, Andreas Fricius: 322  
 Montaigne, M. de —: 143  
 Moretus, Joannes: 214, 216, 217, 218  
 Morhofius, Daniel Georgius: 144  
 Morus, Thomas: 97, 99, 116-134  
 Moscherosch, Johannes: 331  
 Müeffling, Johann Ulrich: 141  
 Murad II: 67  
 Muretus, Marcus Antonius: 138  
 Mussatus, Albertinus: 327  
 Mutianus Rufus: 105  
  
 Naldius, Naldus: 325  
 Nannius, Petrus: 147, 149  
 Neophytos, Zakchaïos: 46  
 Niccoli, Niccolò: 2, 3, 4, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 20, 352  
 Nigonius, M.: 341  
 Nikephoros Zakchaïos: vide Neophytos  
 Niseus, Joachim: 139, 140  
  
 Odus, Petrus Montopolitanus: 320  
 Olahus, Nicolaus: 322  
 Onofrius (abbas): 11  
 Ordeu, William: 76  
 Ovidius: 11, 26, 32, 58, 105, 108, 145, 146, 147  
  
 Paffraet, Richard: 90  
 Paltaszichis, Andreas de —: 88  
 Pannonius, Janus: 327  
 Panormita: vide Beccadellius  
 Papias: 15, 16  
 Pareus, Daniel: 141, 143  
 Pariz-Papai, Franciscus: 321  
 Parmenides: 353  
 Parthenius, Antonius: 324  
 Patricius, Franciscus: 123  
 Pazzi, Alessandro: 147  
 Pecci, Andrea: 325

- Peccioli, Domenico de —: 325  
 Pedemontanus, J.: 29, 30, 54, 56, 58, 66  
 Perottus, Nicolaus: 90  
 Persius: 10, 15, 323  
 Petrarca, Franciscus: 104, 138, 143, 324, 342  
 Petrus Helias: 15  
 Petrus Lombardus: 72  
 Phaëdrus: 15  
 Phalaris (pseudo-): 86, 90, 94, 98  
 Philargyrius: 105  
 Philephus, Franciscus: 17, 35, 324, 342  
 Piccolomini, Aeneas Silvius: 18, 20, 322, 325, 327  
 Piccolomini, Jacobus: 18  
 Picinellus, Philippus: 137  
 Pindarus: 138  
 Pius, Joannes Baptista: 325  
 Plato: 78, 124, 136, 343, 345  
 Plautus: 16, 340  
 Plinius maior: 108  
 Plotius: 57  
 Plutarchus: 137, 138, 345  
 Poggius Bracciolinus, Nicolaus: 10, 11, 13, 20, 324, 331  
 Politianus, Angelus: 105, 324, 327  
 Pomeranus, Johannes (Bugenhagen): 322  
 Pompeius Trogus: 146  
 Pompilius, Paulus: 324  
 Pomponius Mela: 41, 61, 65  
 Pontanus, Joannes Jovianus: 198, 323  
 Premlechner, Joannes Baptista: 321  
 Priscianus: 15  
 Probus: 10  
 Ptolemaeus (astrologus): 77  
 Pulci, Luca: 146  
 Puteanus, Erycius: 141  
 Pynson, Richard: 91, 97, 98  
  
 Quatrarius, Joannes: 320  
 Quevedo: 327  
 Quintilianus: 77, 345  
 Quintus Curtius: 345  
  
 Rabelais, François: 324, 330  
 Ramus, Petrus: 315  
 Rapinus, Memmius: 336  
 Rapinus, Nicolaus jr.: 336  
 Regelsberger, Joannes Christophorus: 321  
 Remaclus Arduenna: 315  
 Rhadinus Todiscus, Thomas: 315  
 Richard III: 73, 88, 92, 93, 98  
 Richelet, Nicolaus: 336  
 Rinuccius Aretinus: 325  
 Roberts, James: 245  
 Robinson, Ralph: 118, 121  
 Robinson, Robert: 206, 253  
 Rogerius, Carolus: 336  
 Ronsard, Pierre de —: 336  
 Rontus, Matthaeus: 15  
 Rood, Theodoricus: 90, 98  
 Rooman, Gillis: 211, 215, 225, 226, 227  
 Rota, Bernardinus: 329  
 Rougemont, Franciscus: 322  
 Russell, John: 92, 93  
  
 Sabaeus, Faustus: 323  
 Sabellicus, Marcus Antonius: 90  
 Sachs, Hans: 146  
 Salamonte, Francesco: 345  
 Salerno, Giannicola: 1-5, 7, 20  
 Salutatus, Coluccius: 11, 12, 13, 20, 324, 325  
 Sammarthanus, Scaevola: 336  
 Sannazzarus, Jacobus: 105, 198  
 Saugrain: 117, 118, 119, 131  
 Scalon, Thomas: 78  
 Scepperus, Cornelius: 341  
 Scherf, Balthasar: 266  
 Scholarios, Georgios: 22-70  
 Schonaeus, Cornelius: 246-314  
 Schrevelius, Theodorus: 233  
 Scola, Ognibene: 5  
 Scriverius, Petrus: 233, 238, 265  
 Secundus, Janus: 349  
 Seneca: 136-140, 150, 156, 157, 158  
 Servius: 104  
 Sharp, John: 79  
 Silius Italicus: 10, 11  
 Sixtus IV: 89  
 Skelton, William: 76  
 Snodham, Thomas: 264, 267  
 Socrates: 78  
 Sorbière, Samuel: 117, 120-132, 134



- Sozomeno da Pistoia: 10  
 Sozzini, Mariano: 20  
 Speck, Christoph: 266  
 Starke, Johannes: 143  
 Stefoni, Bernardinus: 337  
 Steinbrück, Melchior: 141, 142  
 Stella, Erasmus: 322  
 Stochius, Nicolaus: 139  
 Stokys, Matthew: 75  
 Strabo: 340  
 Strozza, Titus Vespasianus: 325  
 Strozzi, Palla: 4  
 Stunica, Jacobus Lopis: 316  
 Suetonius: 157, 352  
 Swanenburgh: 153  
 Sweertius, Franciscus: 139  
  
 Tacitus: 139, 341, 344  
 Taille, Jacques de la —: 148  
 Tasso, Torquato: 329, 331  
 Taubmannus, Fridericus: 140  
 Terentius: 10, 15, 340  
 Thabit ben Qurra: 78  
 Thomas Aquinas: 78, 79  
 Thomas Erfurtensis: 77  
 Tibullus: 108, 331  
 Tiraquellus, Hilarius: 336  
 Tori, Meo: 21  
 Torre, Jacobus della —: 326  
 Tournay, Jasper: 265  
 Traversarius, Ambrosius: 2, 3  
 Tusiani, Joseph: 198-205  
 Twynne, Brian: 74  
 Tyndale, William: 97  
  
 Ulbaldini, Ottaviano: 343  
 Urbanus VIII: 331  
 Utenhovius, Carolus: 209, 210, 214, 350  
  
 Valla, Laurentius: 90, 324, 340  
 Vallaresso, Fantino: 42  
 Vallensis, Hieronymus: 326  
 Varius: 57  
 Varro: 136  
 Vautrollier, Thomas: 231  
 Verelius, Olaus: 353  
 Vergilius: 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 32, 35, 37, 41, 42, 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 103, 104, 105, 136, 145, 146, 147, 150, 158, 329, 330, 331, 335, 344  
 Vergilius, Polydorus: 90, 99  
 Verinus Ugolinus: 325  
 Vespasiano da Bisticci: 16, 349  
 Victorinus: 10  
 Viruès, Christobal de —: 147  
 Vitalis, Janus: 327  
 Vitruvius: 345  
 Vives, Joannes Ludovicus: 350  
 Vorstius: 151, 152, 153  
 Vulcanius, Bonaventura: 153, 154, 155, 349, 350  
  
 Wachtang IV: 47  
 Waynflete, William: 90  
 Weiss: vide Müeffling  
 Windet, John: 245  
 Witte, Hans: 265  
 Wolf, Jacob: 148  
 Worcester, William: 73, 74  
 Wou, Timan van: 238  
 Wou, Willem van: 214  
 Wüst, Hans: 148  
 Wyche, William: 72  
  
 Zacchia, Laudivius: 327  
 Zambertus Bartholomaeus: 338  
 Zanobi da Strada: 18



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